

**JOHN ROSS(1842-1915) AND THE KOREAN PROTESTANT CHURCH:
THE FIRST KOREAN BIBLE AND ITS RELATION TO
THE PROTESTANT ORIGINS IN KOREA**

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and based upon work done by myself and that the thesis has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree, diploma or similar award. Also I declare that all quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks, and all the sources of information have been acknowledged.

Sung Il Choi

September 1992

ABSTRACT

This is a case study for the study of the relationship between the Word of God and other missionary means, through research on Ross and his Bible translation in Korean. For this purpose, Chapter One generalizes the historical, socio-cultural, and religious conditions which the Word of God was introduced in Korea. Chapter Two deals with a biographical sketch of John Ross, and his initial contact with Koreans, which led him to do the translation of the New Testament in Korean. In Chapter Three, procedure of Bible translation is discussed: period of translation, principles and methods of translation, and its publication and distribution. In addition to these, the major criticism and destiny of the Ross Version are also discussed in this chapter. Through analysis of the Ross Version in Chapter Four, the basis of translation is verified, and the intelligibility of the Ross Version is especially examined according to the major criticisms. In Chapter Five, the result of Bible translation is determined through the examination of the formation of early Korean Christian communities, which is useful to define characteristics of the Korean Protestant Church as being Bible centred, lay oriented, and self-support. In Chapter Six, in order to find out where these characteristics came from, the Nevius mission method is cross-examined with the Ross's mission methods in relation to the so-called "three-self" principles. Through this case study of the Korean mission history, the place of the Bible is reaffirmed as being the origin of the Christian Church.

PREFACE

In writing this thesis I have noticed some problems in the transliteration of names of places in the nineteenth century. Names of places in China have been changed -some totally, and some slightly - so that one cannot easily identify their location this day. Transliteration of certain Chinese terms may also cause some difficulty to Korean readers. In order to avoid these problems, I use modern names unless they are in the direct quotations. For transliteration of Korean words, I have used the McCune-Reischauer System, which most scholars are using although it is not a perfect system to represent Korean sounds.

During my research in relation to Bible translation, I have been convinced that Ross could not complete his work without the assistance of Koreans. As co-operation between Ross and anonymous Koreans produced the first Korean New Testament, my work could not be done without assistance of many people. I, as non-English speaker, confess that in a broad sense this may be a joint work with those who have thoroughly read chapters and given me valuable advice. My special thanks goes to Alex Reid, the former Principal of the Newbattle Abbey College in Dalkeith, Michael Westcott in Old College, and Margaret Acton in the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, New College.

Sabu(師父) is an old Korean word for teacher, and its literal meaning is that a teacher is one's teaching father. In this sense, I have two teaching fathers, Dr. Paul Ellingworth and Professor Andrew F. Walls, who have stimulated and encouraged me for the last four years. From choosing the topic to completing my thesis, Prof. Walls has always provided me with a new and rich insight on the history of mission. I owe him an unpayable debt.

I am always aware of the sacrifice of my family in Edinburgh and of my parents in Korea who have missed each other for the last seven years. Their love and prayers made my research possible. I dedicate this to my parents.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATION

✓ ARBFBFS:	Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society
✓ ARBFM:	Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA
✓ ARNBSS:	Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland
BFBS:	The British and Foreign Bible Society
CDK:	The Christian Dawn in Korea
CP:	Corean Primer
CVNT:	The Corean Version of the New Testament
✓ ECI-BFBS:	Editorial Correspondence of the BFBS - Inward
✓ ECO-BFBS:	Editorial Correspondence of the BFBS - Outward
HC:	History of Corea
JRKFM:	John Ross: Korea's First Missionary
KMF:	The Korea Mission Field
LMS:	London Missionary Society
LWJR:	The Life and Work of the Rev. Dr. John Ross
✓ MFMC-UFC:	Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland
✓ MFMC-UPC:	Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland
MMM:	Mission Methods in Manchuria
MRUFC:	Missionary Record of the United Free Church
✓ MRUPC:	Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church
MRW:	The Missionary Review of the World
NBSS:	The National Bible Society of Scotland
✓ NLSMC:	National Library of Scotland Manuscript Collection
PSUPC:	Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church

✓QRNBSS: Quarterly Record of the National Bible Society of
Scotland

✓RHFM-UFC: The Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the
United Free Church of Scotland

WCMB: Western Committee Minutes Book of the National Bible
Society of Scotland

UPM: United Presbyterian Magazine

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS

1. Introduction

The year 1984 was celebrated as the centenary year of the Protestant mission in Korea, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the arrival in Korea of the American medical missionary, Dr. Horace N. Allen. However, allowing both for this fact and the introduction of Chinese Scriptures into Korea in the mid-19th century, I insist that the real beginning of evangelical work in Korea lies with John Ross, a Scottish missionary of the United Presbyterian Church. Ross, who had resided in Manchuria since 1872, had baptized about half a dozen Koreans and had started to translate the New Testament into Han'gŭl, the Korean vernacular alphabet, before American missionaries arrived in Korea.

Starting from the publication of the Gospel of St. Luke in 1882, Ross completed translation of the New Testament and published it in 1887. Until a new edition of the New Testament was issued by American missionaries in 1901, the so-called Ross Version was widely used in Korea, though the American missionaries tended to avoid the Ross Version because it was translated in the north-western provincial dialect. Through reading the Ross Version, many Koreans expressed a desire to become Christians and some were baptized by John Ross before other missionaries started evangelical work in Korea. This fact gives rise to a fundamental question about the history of Christian mission: "Where does the history of Christian mission

begin? Does it start from the missionary presence, or from the first baptism, or from the introduction of the Gospel?" This question is important to determine the beginning of the Protestant mission in Korea. This relates to fundamental perspectives on the history of Christian mission. If the expansion of Christendom, or the implantation of Christian culture, or the diffusion of the Christian gospel are the traditional views of mission, this gives rise to the question of the place of the Word of God in the history of Christian mission. For this purpose, the formation of Christian communities in Korea will be a good case study for the study of the relationship between the Word of God and other missionary means.

It is frequently said that, from the beginning of Korean Protestant Church history, the Nevius Mission Method, which was named after John L. Nevius of the China Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, was one of the most important reasons for Church growth in Korea.¹ After Nevius visited Seoul, the capital city of Korea, and instructed American missionaries in 1890, the Northern Presbyterian Mission of the USA adopted his principles as the rules and by-laws of the Mission in 1891. It is known that the mission policy which was adopted at the first meeting of the Council of Missions in Korea in 1893, followed the Nevius Method with its fundamental elements of the Bible Class system, Self-support, Self-propagation, and Self-government. However, all these elements already existed in the Korean Church,

¹ Apart from numerous articles and reports by missionaries, Charles A. Clark's book, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, may have been a major influence in the widespread acceptance of this belief.

having been part of the mission method of Ross. When we consider that John Ross instructed Koreans who worked on the Bible translation with him, then sent them to Korea to evangelize Koreans, and that they were founders of the early Christian communities in Korea, we might argue that the foundation of the Korean Church was based on the Ross mission method. I will not argue whether or not Ross's method was the foundation of the Korean Church. Through study of Ross's Bible translation and his ordinary missionary work, I will try to indicate the place of the Word of God in the history of Christian mission.

2. Contemporary Conditions

When there was no real Protestant influence in Korea, John Ross first levelled the ground for planting Protestantism into Korea through instructing a few Koreans, consolidating the foundation of the Protestant Church through translating the New Testament into Korean, and letting the Koreans build the Korean Church on these foundations by sending them back to Korea from Manchuria. In the history of the Korean Protestant Church, no one should set too low a value on him simply because he did not work on Korean soil. In order to understand the conditions which the Word of God was introduced into Korea, it is necessary to have an understanding of the historical and cultural background of the Korean people. As this chapter is designed as an introduction to the work of Ross on Korea, it is important to outline the general history of Korea from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century,

especially to examine certain aspects which might have influenced the introduction of the Word of God.

(1) A Brief History of Chosŏn Dynasty²

In 1388, after taking over the leadership of the nation from Koryŏ whose state religion was Buddhism,³ Yi Sŏnggye mounted the throne with the encouragement of his supporters, who were mainly Confucianists, and adopted a pro-Ming policy in 1392. The capital was moved to Hanyang (now Seoul), and the country was named by the old legendary name of Chosŏn. The Chosŏn adopted Confucianism as the state religion and tried to eradicate the influence of Buddhism from the whole country. Through the revival of Confucianism, a new bureaucratic system was developed and the renaissance of literature and arts took place by celebrated

² For standard works on the Korean History in English, see Lee, Ki-baik, *A New History of Korea*, trns. by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz, Ilchokak Publishers, Seoul, (1st ed. 1984), 1991; in Korean, *han'guksa sillon*, (1st ed. 1967), 1991; Carter J. Eckert, Ki-baik Lee, Young Ick Lew, Michael Robinson, & Edward W. Wagner, *Korea Old and New A History*, Ilchokak, for the Korea Institute, Harvard University, Seoul, 1990; William E. Henthorn, *A History of Korea*, Free Press, New York, 1971; Han Woo-Keun, *The History of Korea*, trans. by Lee Kyong-shik, The Eul-Yoo Publishing Co. Seoul, 1970.

³ Lee, Ki-baik, *A New History of Korea*, p.132: Although Koryŏ dynasty's (918-1392) principle of rule by civil official was based on Confucian political ideology, aristocracy regarded "Buddhism not merely as an otherworldly religion but as a faith that would influence the fortunes of the state and of individuals in the contemporary world". In this sense, Buddhism was the state religion of Koryŏ.

scholars and kings.⁴

However, Chosŏn also suffered much from both internal political struggles and foreign invasions. The internal struggles were party factions and persecution of the opposing literati, the object of which was to gain central political power. The party factions, which first began to take shape clearly in the middle of the sixteenth century, were one of the main reasons for the decline of the nation. Furthermore, the socio-political and economic basis of Chosŏn society was completely ruined by two series of wars. The Japanese Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Chosŏn twice in order to use Korea as a staging area for a full scale invasion of the Ming China in 1592 and 1597. Then further disaster followed as Chosŏn was again invaded, this time by the Manchu who were also fighting to gain control of China, where they formally instituted the new Ch'ing dynasty in 1644. They invaded Korea first in 1627 and then again ten years later. Thus it had been laid prostrate by the two series of foreign invasions, which altered its political relationships,⁵ and significantly weakened the economy. Although

⁴ Lee, Ki-baik, *op.cit.*, pp.192f.:cf. Hatada, Takashi, *A History of Korea*, trns. & ed. by Warren W. Smith, JR. and Benjamin H. Hazard, Santa Barbara, California, 1969, p.66; The reigns of King Sejong (1418-1450), Sejo (1455-1468), and Sŏngjong (1469-1494), were considered as the period of the Chosŏn's greatest power. The most esteemed king is Sejong, who invented the Korean alphabet, Han'gŭl, as a substitute for Chinese characters for the common people, in 1446.

⁵ From the beginning of Chosŏn history, it had been committed to the elder-younger relationship with the Ming dynasty, but since the surrender to the Ch'ing, this became a tributary relationship. It had once submitted the crown prince as hostage to the Ch'ing court. Paik argues that Korea had been in the younger brother relationship, based on Confucian idea, with China from Kija Chosŏn (1122 B.C.-194 B.C.): Paik, L.G.G., *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, (1st ed. Union

the intellectual outlook changed toward a pragmatic way of thinking, Sirhak (Pragmatic Learning) Movement, the new leadership could not lift the nation out of its ill-fated situation.

It seems to be inevitable that the fate of Korea should be historically affected by the rise and fall of Chinese dynasties. As Ross observes, Korea had been "more or less under Chinese influence and control ever since the first emperor of the T'ang dynasty drove the Koreans eastwards out of Manchuria".⁶ Since the Manchurian invasions, therefore, Chosŏn might have been more afraid than ever of opening its door to foreigners, because of

Christian College Press, P'yŏngyang, 1927), 2nd ed., Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea, 1971, p.19.

⁶ Ross, John, *History of Corea* (hereafter HC), Paisley, 1879, p.276: This book is of importance, for it was the first entire Korean history that was ever published in English. It has been criticized, both for its turgid style, and its content, being based mainly on Chinese sources. It gives Korean readers some difficulty in gaining a sound understanding of Korean history. Another problem is that Ross is skimming over Korean history from a Manchurian centred standpoint. It may be inevitable that he does because the birthplace of the Ch'ing dynasty was Manchuria, and he relies so heavily on Chinese material about Korean history. (For the criticism of the book, see Grayson J.H., "The Manchurian Connection: The Life and Work of the Rev.Dr. John Ross", *Essays in celebration of the Centenary of Korean-British diplomatic relations*, ed. by Chong-wha Chung and J.E. Hoare, The Korean-British Society, Seoul, 1984, p.63f.). However, it is noteworthy that he considers a history of Liaotung as "in reality the history of Korea" as well as "a necessary prelude to the history" of the rise of the Ch'ing. The contemporary trend in the study of Korean history is an attempt to free it from the colonialist view by which the history of Korea has been interpreted by Japanese historians, who concentrate exclusively on a selection of historical facts within the Korean peninsula. For this, see *Korea Journal*, Korean National Commission for UNESCO, Vol.27 No.12, 1987: "Reflections on Studies in Ancient Korean History" - Colloquium of Five Historians (pp.4-22); Yoon Nae-hyun, "True Understanding of Old Chosŏn" (pp.23-39); Yi Ki-dong, "The Study of Ancient History and Its Problems" (pp.41-49); Kim Byong-mo, "Archaeological Fruits since Liberation and the Reconstruction of Ancient History" (pp.50-56).

"fear for the future".⁷ In these circumstances, the seclusion of the nation in the middle of the nineteenth century could seem a reasonable foreign policy to protect the country. Coincidentally it was very unfortunate that Catholic Christianity was introduced into Korea in such unfavourable circumstances which inevitably led to severe persecution by the government. For instance, it grew to 20,000 converts with twelve French priests by the nineteenth century. But the most severe persecution, which 8,000 Catholics were reported to put to death, was occurred in 1866.

However, the pressure from the Great Powers of the West forced Chosŏn to open the door, starting from an unequal treaty with Japan in 1876. It was precisely at this time that Ross began to translate the *Corean Primer* from the *Mandarin Primer*. But the direct proselytism by missionaries, such as a street preaching, was not officially possible until the government issued a visa for a missionary in 1898.⁸ In these circumstances, the distribution of Bible must have been the best and most effective method to introduce the Word of God to Koreans.

After this brief historical survey, we should look at a number of developments in Korean cultural and political history which have a bearing on our understanding of the importance of the work of John Ross.

⁷ Ross, HC, p.290; cf. "Corea", *The Edinburgh Review*, Vol.136, No.278, 1872, pp.299-335.

⁸ Rev. W.L. Swallon, missionary of the Northern Presbyterian Church in the USA, got his visa under the title of "an American Missionary Teacher" on June 10th, 1898. This missionary visa is considered as the first official permission of open evangelism in Korea.

(2) Invention of Han'gŭl and the Sirhak movement

From the time Chinese literature and arts were first brought to Korea in the era of Kija Chosŏn (1122 B.C.-194 B.C.),⁹ Korea has been consistently influenced by the massive output of Chinese culture.¹⁰ In a word, Korea was historically and politically within the orbit of Chinese civilization, although Korea always tried to modify to some extent Chinese culture in its own way. The adoption of the Chinese systems of government administration with access to office limited, as in China, by examination, and the use of Chinese characters as the official writing system in government documentation, is evidence that the history and culture of Korea cannot be explained without an understanding of the relationship between China and Korea. But this does not mean that Korea did not have its own identity and independence in the cultural sphere.

For instance, the use of Chinese characters by Koreans is assumed to have accompanied the establishment of the Chinese colony in 108 B.C. But the ancient Koreans also had certain characters, besides Chinese characters, to record their speech. They created or utilized the sounds and meanings attached to each character. The results of their efforts to write were Idu, Kugyŏl, and Hyangch'al systems from the Silla period to Koryŏ. These writing systems, although having their roots in the Chinese

⁹ Lee Ki-baik seems to consider Kija Chosŏn simply as a legendary state. (A New History of Korea, p.16)

¹⁰ Homer Hulbert argues that the literary history of Korea opened in the 7th century with the great scholar of Silla Kingdom (57 B.C.-935), Ch'oe Chi-won. (The Passing of Korea, p. 310)

system, show ingenuity in attempting an independence in the way they attempted to ^{record} their own speech. Of these systems, the Idu of the Silla script is known as a basis of modern Korean, "Han'gŭl".¹¹ When we regard language, which conveys the main current of people's thought, from its cultural aspect, the invention of Han'gŭl is the most significant event in the cultural history of Korea.

The name given to Han'gŭl by its inventor King Sejong in 1446 was *Hunmin-jōngŭm*, "the correct sounds for the instruction of the people".¹² The origin of the Korean language has been related at one time or another to various linguistic traditions; Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Pali, Roman, Syrian, Hebrew and so on. However it is now generally agreed that the Korean language belongs to the Altaic language family, related to Turkic, Mongolian, Tungus, and Japanese.¹³

The motive and object of the invention of Han'gŭl well illustrates the long aspiration of the Korean people to have

¹¹ Huh Woong, "Development of the Korean Language", (p.4); Kim, Chin-u, "The Making of the Korean Language", (p.23) *The Korean Language*, ed. by The Korean National Commission for UNESCO, Si-sa-yong-o-sa, Seoul, Korea, 1986.

¹² Probably, Han'gŭl is the only phonetic writing system invented in East Asia which was traditionally dominated by Chinese culture.

¹³ Ross sees that it is a polysyllabic language. Through comparison with Manchu, Mongol, and Japanese, he defines it as one of Turanian languages in respect of the grammatical construction of certain sentences (HC, p.388). It is interesting that some scholars suggest the Sanskrit alphabet might have been introduced by Buddhism and affected to the invention of Han'gŭl. (See, Marshall R. Pihe, JR., "Westerners on Korean", *The Korean Language*, P.63; "Notes and Queries", *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol.22, Nos.3 & 4, 1887, p.226.)

their own writing system and to prove its independence from China as the following preface of *hunmin chōngūm* shows.

The sounds of our language differ from those of China and are not easily conveyed in Chinese writing. In consequence, though one among our ignorant subjects may wish to express his mind, in many cases he after all is unable to do so. Thinking of these, my people, with compassion. We have newly devised a script of twenty-eight letters, only that it become possible for anyone to readily learn it and use it to advantage in his everyday life.¹⁴

Although it was invented primarily for convenience, for "daily use of the ignorant people", Han'gūl was "not regarded as worthy the name of literature, nor the knowledge of it as deserving the name of education".¹⁵ Because Korea had practically "no literature before Chinese influence led up to it",¹⁶ Han'gūl may have been regarded as a written version of "spoken language" while Chinese was recognized as the official writing system in government documentation. In fact, Han'gūl was considered as a vulgar script, "ōnmun", and was recommended as suitable only for women and children.¹⁷

¹⁴ The original text is found in *Sejong Sillok* (Veritable Records of Sejong, Vol.3) and *Chosōn Wangjo Sillok* (Veritable Records of Chosōn dynasty, Vol.4, Kuksa P'yōnchan wiwonhoe, Seoul, 1955. Bks. No.113, p.703); quoted from Lee, K.B, *A New History of Korea*, p.192; Other English version is found in Palmer, Spencer J., *Korea and Christianity*, p.71.

¹⁵ Ross, HC, p.307.

¹⁶ Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, p.304.

¹⁷ In Ross's *Corean Primer* (hereafter CP), the name of Han'gūl does not appear, but "Chosōn-mal", Korean language, or ōnyok as same as "ōnmun". Besides, it is interesting to see the expression such as "taeguk-mal", the great nation's language (Chinese), and "Chinsō", the true writing. (Ross, CP, pp.6-8). Even a member of Korean Bible Translation Committee also used the term ōnmun in 1893. (Editorial Correspondence of British and Foreign Bible Society - Inward [hereafter ECI-BFBS], Vol. 33, p.64)

Korean literature in Chinese is almost limited to history, poetry, and scientific literature. It may be true that "the literature of Korea had a backward look",¹⁸ so that the practical side of life was hardly touched upon. Fiction in Korea was always given "a lower place than other literary productions" such as poetry and history, which were considered to be the two great branches of literature.¹⁹ It must have been impossible to write in Chinese accurate stories of daily life or conversation as actually spoken. This limitation of the ability of written language to transcribe human life accurately may have helped Koreans to maintain traditions of oral story-telling.

The setting of Han'gŭl literature was slightly different from that of Chinese. Since the invention of Han'gŭl, the translation of Chinese poems and Buddhist scriptures was intensively pursued in the periods of King Sejong (1419-1450) and Sejo (1456-1468). During the sixteenth century, some scholars came to use Han'gŭl in composing lyrics and poems. After the Japanese invasions, folk literature from the grass-roots of society appeared not only in a poetic form, Sijo, but in fiction. Han'gŭl seems to have been widely used, first by women at the royal court and in aristocratic families, and then by the ordinary people at the grass-roots of Korean society in the seventeenth century. After the invasions of the Ch'ing dynasty, especially, the use of Han'gŭl spread to the people by means of

¹⁸ Hulbert, *op.cit.*, p.306.

¹⁹ Hulbert, *op.cit.*, p.312.

the Sirhak Movement or "Pragmatic Learning Movement".²⁰ The Sirhak scholars pursued pragmatic knowledge of economy and culture, and looked favourably upon Western science. Therefore, literary work in Han'gŭl showed great progress; it may be argued that it was "a renaissance period" of scholarly studies in Han'gŭl.²¹

However, as a result of continued domination of Korean society by Chinese culture and its accompanying Confucian philosophy, the Chinese script remained the accepted form and Han'gŭl remained a "despised vulgar script" until the end of the 19th century when the influence of Western civilization, especially Christian literature and Scripture, began to stimulate Korea. Ironically, the renaissance of Han'gŭl culture took place with the fall of the nation.

(3) Social conditions after the 17th century

The social conditions of the last three centuries are discussed here simply in terms of their relation to the introduction of Christianity in Korea. From the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty at the turn of the fourteenth century, the

²⁰ Grayson considers their reasons for moving away from the intellectual framework of the received Confucian tradition as follows: (1) An awareness of the weakness of the Korean state, which was made evident during the Japanese and Manchu invasions; (2) A feeling of disgust at the continued feuding which took place at the royal court; (3) A realization that Neo-Confucian philosophy could not confront the social, economic, and political problems of the day. (op.cit., p.69)

²¹ Kim, Jin-p'yong, "The Letterforms of Hangul", The Korean Language, p.93.

political power was increasingly centralized in the hand of yangban class²² who were the only people who could serve as military or civil officials. By the seventeenth century only they had the opportunities for education that enabled a person to sit the necessary examinations. Thus what was intended to be a system open to the talents came to be controlled by the yangban who were an aristocratic group which tried at all costs to preserve their genealogical purity. They achieved this complete control while still insisting that anyone could enter the service of the state through the examination system, as anyone could in China where the system was more nearly truly open. The yangban incorporated an open examination system into the service of their exclusive aristocratic structure.

For instance, generally, the literati who used Chinese only, and the illiterati, who were ignorant in Chinese, expressed their thoughts only in Han'gŭl. At the time of Ross, society in Korea was basically divided into three classes, - the upper, middle, and lower.²³ This classification is much too general. The idea of class was specially a question of birth which was totally based on bloodline. A question of class system

²² The term of Yangban, which literally means "both sides", originally referred to both civil and military officials and referred to the convention of having civil officials stand in order on the left of the king (dongban: east order), and military officials on the right (sŏban: west order). These two orders became the designation for the upper privileged class in the Chosŏn society.

²³ Ross divides the social classes as follows; "First, are the magistrates; second, farmers and merchants; and third, handicraftsmen, tailors, shoemakers, players, the lictors, and other yamen attendants. Lowest of all is the Paekjŏng, the butcher,- this classification being probably the result of Korean Buddhism; and next to him is the pig-sticker, in company with harlots. --- The three classes do not intermarry." (HC, p.311)

was significantly related to the early Korean Christian communities, because the Protestantism in Korea was first introduced through the distribution of Bible in Chinese and Korean. For the early Christians converted through the Chinese Bible inevitably belonged to the literati, and those who were converted through the Korean Bible did not need to be exclusively the literati. In this sense, the socio-cultural stratification of the Chosŏn society was very important for defining the characteristics of early Christian communities.

The Yangban considered themselves as the conservators of the ethical, moral and social heritage of Korean culture. They used only Chinese as a true script, and regarded Han'gŭl as the vulgar script, because, as Ross sees it, Han'gŭl was not considered "as worthy the name of literature, nor the knowledge of it as deserving the name of education".²⁴

The Chungin, the literal meaning of which is "middle folk", was the class of petty or semi-officials between the nobility and the populace. The Chungin were the professionals of government, -- that is, interpreters, astrologers, medical doctors, accountants, transcribers, lawyers, and artists in the royal court. Their skills and scholarly abilities were not less than those of the Yangban, but they were not allowed to take the highest state examinations for the highest political appointments. They were certainly well qualified literati, but were politically deprived. They used both Chinese and Han'gŭl, although they greatly favoured the former.

²⁴ Ross, HC, p.307.

The P'yongmin or commoners, were those of the populace who were producers such as farmers and artisans, and also merchants. The P'yongmin alone had to pay taxes and contribute to the state their military services as well as other community duties. Hangul was popular among the people of this class, because they had little hope of attaining education in order to get into government office through examinations, and therefore did not have to learn the difficult Chinese classics. Their interests were mainly economic and religious rather than political and cultural.

Here is an interesting social class, that is, the Sōja, the name of the illegitimate sons of the nobility, who were totally abandoned by society. They also suffered the humiliation of ineligibility because they had a mixed and impure bloodline in a society in which absolute purity was emphasized. They were not able to call their fathers and brothers by the name of "father" and "brother", nor even engage in any business which the P'yongmin had, for fear of bringing disgrace on their families, because the professions of the P'yongmin were regarded as impure and secular according to Confucian ideology. In a word, the Sōja were politically and socially discriminated against in society. The only pursuit in which they could engage was study. For this reason, some of them achieved the highest scholarship and contributed to the development of Sirhak movement. They were not entitled for candidacy even for the minor test that had to be passed in order to become eligible for the degree equivalent to the doctorate, Chinsa, although there were a few exceptions throughout the history of Chosŏn.

The Ch'ŏnmin, the outcasts, were a class at the bottom of the social strata. They had occupations such as dancer, singer, slaughterer, butcher, shaman, and slave.²⁵ Once anyone passed into this class by virtue of poverty, intermarriage, or punishment of criminal actions, there was no possibility institutionally of upgrading his social status. They were the most illiterate, or rather ignorant, among Chosŏn society. Therefore, the Ch'ŏnmin were hopeless outcasts in a political, social, and cultural sense.

Besides this caste system, the position of women was also peculiar in the Chosŏn dynasty.²⁶ Chosŏn women were totally inferior to men in social status. The male dominated society, which was based on the Confucian ethics of loyalty to the state and the king, and of filial piety, was maintained in combination with a family system subordinating women throughout the history of Chosŏn. A woman had to be obedient to her father before marriage, to her husband after marriage, and to her son, in case of the death of her husband. This is called *sanjongjido*, the way of the three submissions. She was kept in seclusion and was expected to do only household work, because any social contact between man and woman was regarded as sin. The degree of seclusion depended upon the position of her husband. The higher

²⁵ During the Chosŏn dynasty, Buddhist monks and nuns were forcibly included in this class by the government policy, although they were of high intellectual and moral calibre.

²⁶ Hulbert classifies the position of woman into three; honourable, respectable, and disreputable. He observes that Korean women did not have any rights such as those testament, divorce, occupation, education, and property. They did not have any right even in courtship and marriage. (*The Passing of Korea*, Doubleday Press, New York, 1906; reprinted by Yonsei University Press, Seoul, 1969, pp.439-371.)

her class status, the more complete was her seclusion. Whatever her position was, a married woman had to follow the seven commandments: be obedient to the elder of her husband's family; bear your husband's sons; do not commit obscene acts; do not be jealous of your husband's concubines; do not catch malignant diseases; do not chatter or gossip; do not steal.²⁷

These exclusive systems can be also found in the field of education. Education was wholly confined to men: there were no schools for girls. Sometimes girls were taught exclusively within the walls of their own homes. In a word, women were given little intellectual training. But, after the invention of Han'gŭl, many women even among the lower classes could read and write their own letters. Some women in the higher classes were able to read Chinese too.

In conclusion, the social stratification of Chosŏn society can be defined in its cultural aspect as follows. (1) A Chinese-centred class used only Chinese as their written language; they were the Yangban and the Chungin. The Sŏja class who usually used Chinese formed a partial exception but the Sŏja were socio-politically discriminated against. (2) A Han'gŭl-centred class did not need to learn Chinese and used mainly Han'gŭl; they were the P'yongmin and women. This does not mean that they were in ignorance of Chinese, but that they favoured using Han'gŭl. (3) An illiterate class did not need to know any written language; they were the Ch'ŏnmin. Among the Ch'ŏnmin class, the

²⁷ Palmer, Spencer J., Korea and Christianity, Hollym Co., Seoul, 1967, p.40.

exceptional cases were Buddhist monks and fortune-tellers who needed to study Chinese literature such as Buddhist canons or books on divination.

The Korean Catholicism was initially accepted and spread by the Chinese-centred class (especially by Yangban). But the Protestantism was largely accepted by the Han'gŭl centred class through the Bible translated in Han'gŭl.²⁸ Therefore this classification of socio-cultural status is important for the understanding of the consequence of Bible translation in Han'gŭl and the early development of the Protestant Church in Korea.

(4) The political conditions

After the two series of invasions by Japan and Ch'ing, the national strength of Chosŏn began to weaken in terms of international politics in relation to China and Japan. The government was more and more dominated by a few great lineages and in the eighteenth century these were engaged in a constant struggle for power. This struggle greatly weakened the royal authority so that supreme power in the state passed to whoever was the dominant group among the aristocracy. The factions among the yangban simply fought for power and wealth for themselves and appeared to disregard the good of society as a whole. Only the Sirhak movement was committed to the struggle to reform Chosŏn society for the good of all.

²⁸ The use of Han'gŭl was one of Ross's translation principles in order to evangelize the majority of Koreans. For his principles, see Chapter Three.

From the time of Japanese invasion one of the signs of the instability of the state were the many changes in the system of taxation in Korea. Korea was an agricultural economy and in this period the land fell into the hands of a few lineages of the yangban who reserved the wealth of the land more and more for themselves and for not for the state. The state then went through periods of enormous financial difficulty and had to find new means as well as new sources of taxation in order to make ends meet. The difficulty of this period meant that many people were forced off the land and into urban area. Others took flight to Manchuria in order to find a new life for themselves.²⁹ The Korean immigrants in Manchuria increased sharply in the nineteenth century, when the economic strength of government was drained by the corruption of ruling class.

The factionalism before the nineteenth century was occurred among groups affiliated with a certain Confucian ideology. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century the political power was taken by the royal in-law family.³⁰ The power struggles between royal in-law families forced a total change of social system, because the in-law who was in power ignored the existing social order and appointed their clansmen to important posts in the central government. In order to keep their lineage and accumulate their own wealth, they even sold posts in the central and local government to their clansmen. This kind of governmental

²⁹ Lee ki-baik mentions only "flight of peasants from their land" as the only way of protest. (A New History of Korea, p.224) But Korean emigrant to Manchuria began from this period.

³⁰ The "in-law government" is called sedo chōngch'i. (cf. Lee ki-baik, op.cit., p.247)

administration brought forth the disruption of the base of Chosŏn society dominated by the yangban class. Rich farmers and merchants affiliated to royal in-law families could buy yangban status and governmental posts in a day. As government appointment was no longer based on the state examination, only those who were affiliated with the royal house and in-law families and those who were wealthy were able to maintain their traditional yangban status. In consequence there were a great number of so-called "fallen" yangban who were even occasionally forced to become small-scale farmers.³¹ Under these circumstances, the group who suffered most was the peasantry. It is not surprising that a number of peasants fled to Manchuria or Russian territory across Korea's border at that time. The first Christian communities were later formed among these Korean immigrants in consequence of Ross's work.

This kind of social disorder also provoked a series of uprisings, which were often led by the ruined yangban, against vicious local authorities or powerful royal in-law families. Although there was an attempt to solve these socio-political problems by Taewŏn'gun,³² the distortion of national life had gone too far for him to succeed. The government, with its own serious internal crisis, learned of the clashes between China and the powerful Western nations - especially the Opium War of 1839-1842, and the Arrow Incident in 1856. Along with such disasters in China, the spread of Catholicism in Korea also caused the

³¹ Lee Ki-baik, *op.cit.*, p.250.

³² He was father of Kojong, the last king of Chosŏn dynasty, who was enthroned at his twelve in 1864. He ruled the country as regent until 1873.

government to fear the influence of the Western powers and so it adopted a policy of isolation. This policy must have been regarded as the best means of protecting country from Western nations, whose ships had been appearing continuously off the coast of Korea in order to seek trade since 1832.

The isolation policy consequently resulted in the severe persecution of Catholicism. For instance, nine of the twelve French priests who had entered Korea at that time were apprehended and executed in 1866. This incident made the commander of the French Asiatic Squadron, Admiral Roze, invade the west coast of Korea with seven warships.³³ But he was forced to withdraw without achieving anything. The isolation policy seems to have proved successful as when an American trading ship, the General Sherman, was destroyed on the Taedong River by Korean army at the same year.³⁴ This incident gave America a good excuse to force Korea to open its door five years later. The Commander of the American Asiatic Squadron, Rear Admiral J. Rodgers, crossed the Yellow Sea from China with five warships and came to Korea to complain about the General Sherman incident in 1871.³⁵ But he also had to withdraw without any result as a result of the stubborn defence of Korean army. These incidents, which were considered as great victories by Korea at that time, encouraged the Taewŏn'gun to further harden the isolation policy. This policy remained strictly in force until Korea was forced to

³³ It is called *pyŏngin yangyo*, foreign disturbance, in 1866. Admiral Roze's station was at Chefoo, China.

³⁴ It is called the General Sherman incident, which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

³⁵ It is called *sinmi yangyo*.

make a treaty with Japan in 1876.³⁶ Although the door of Korea seems to have been opened by this treaty, foreigners were only allowed to stay only in Seoul and three treaty ports. In fact, in a sense that the freedom to preach by missionary was first granted only in 1898, Korea was still a closed nation to the Gospel when Ross engaged in the translation of Bible into Korean. In these circumstances, Ross's work of translation and distribution of Bible would seem to have been the most effective method to introduce the Word of God in Korea, which will be the main point of chapter five.

(5) Introduction of Catholicism

When Ross began his Korean mission, the presence of Catholicism might to be expected to have had some effect. The year 1784, when the first baptism of a Korean took place at Peking, has been regarded as the beginning of Korean Catholic history. But there had been some contacts between Catholicism and Korea before that time.

The first mention of Korea in missionary reports is probably the letter of Guillaume de Rubruc, a French Franciscan, who was sent for the Mongolian mission by Pope Innocent IV in 1253. Rubruc seems to have met the Korean tributary envoys in the

³⁶ This treaty is called kanghwado-choyak, which Korea was forced to open to Japan three ports, Inch'ŏn, Pusan, and Wonsan. After this treaty, China, who tried to block Japanese force toward the north, urged Korea make treaty of commerce with the United State in 1882, the Great Britain, Russia and Germany in 1884, and France in 1866.

Mongolian royal court. His contact with Koreans was of no significance for Christian mission, but he was known to be the first person who introduced Korea to the West in his letters and the accounts of his trip to Mongolia.³⁷

The next person who attempted mission work in Korea was a Portuguese Jesuit in Japan, Gaspar Vilela (1525-1572). In his letters written in 1571, he planned to visit Korea but was unable to carry this into effect.³⁸ The first actual contact of Catholicism came in 1592, at the time of the Japanese invasion. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) established a Jesuit mission in Japan in 1549, and the Jesuits won many thousands of converts, including many people of the upper class. When the armies of the Shogun, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, invaded Korea in 1592, there were a large number of Christian troops under a Christian commandant, Konishi Yukinaga, whose Christian name was Augustin Arimandono. He requested the Society of Jesus in Japan for a priest for his Christian troops, and Gregorio de Cespedes (1551-1611), accompanied by a Japanese brother, Foucan Eion, was sent for them in 1593. They worked for a year among the soldiers in the Japanese camps, but there is no evidence that they mounted a mission among

³⁷ W. Rubruc, *The Journey of William Rubruc to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-1255*, tr. by W.W. Rockhill, The Hakluyt Society, London, 1900, pp.200f.; In his letter, "Caulej" is believed to be the Chinese pronunciation of "Koryo" dynasty, and later, it was called "Corëe" in French and "Korea" in English.

³⁸ Vilela went to Japan in 1556 and had worked until 1570. He made plans for a Korean mission some time in 1567. He died in 1571 in Goa. Grayson suggests that he died in 1570 in Malacca on his way to India, but his last letter to Avis monastery in Portugal was written in Goa on 6th October, 1571: Yu Hong-yŏl, *Han'guk Ch'ŏnju Kyohoesa* (A History of Catholic Church in Korea), 2 vols, 1962, Seoul, Korea, (revised in 1984); vol.1, pp.21f.: cf. Grayson, *op.cit.*, p.70.

Koreans.

As the first priest who entered Korea, however, Cespedes with the other Jesuit priests was concerned about many thousands of Korean slaves in Japan who were seized and sent to Japan during the 7 years' invasion. According to the reports sent to Europe by the Jesuit Fathers,³⁹ they taught Catholic doctrine among the Korean slaves and hundreds of them became Christian converts. It is worth noting one of the famous Korean Christians in Japan, Vincent Kwōn, who was taught in the Jesuit seminary in Kyoto. He had many times attempted to enter Korea in order to begin missionary work in his homeland. His dream was never realized and he died as a victim of the Tokugawa persecution on 20th June, 1626.⁴⁰ Although some Korean Christians are assumed to have been sent back to Korea in the early 17th century, there is no record to indicate that they kept and practised their Christian faith in Korea.⁴¹ It may have been possible for them to keep their faith in private because, with the strong anti-Japanese feeling of Koreans at that time, Catholicism through the Japanese channel could not but be regarded as a religion of the

³⁹ Ch. Dallet, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée*, 2 vols, Paris, 1874. pp.3-4; Charlevoix, *Histoire du Christianisme au Japon*, vol.4, p.8: quoted from Yu Hong-yōl, *op.cit.*, vol.1, pp.30, 35.

⁴⁰ He was one of the 205 martyrs who died during the Tokugawa persecution and were beatified by Pope Pius IX on 7th July, 1867, and was one of nine Korean martyrs at that time.

⁴¹ Up to the beginning of the Tokugawa persecution of the Christian Church in 1611, about seven thousand Koreans had been baptized. Yu Hong-yōl suggests that, in 1605, one of them might have brought back to Korea a copy of T'ien-chu Shih-i by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). As this book was published in Peking in 1603 and circulated in Japan in 1604, this may well be. (Yu Hong-yōl, *op.cit.*, p.33 & 50.)

invader. In the sense that there was no effort to evangelize people within the Korea peninsula, it may be said that the seed of the Gospel had not yet been sown on Korean soil.

The real introduction of Catholicism in Korea occurred from contacts with the Jesuits in China. After the Manchu invasion in 1637, Sohyŏn seja, the Crown Prince of Korea was taken away as a hostage to the Ch'ing dynasty. In 1644, the prince met and became acquainted with one of the German Jesuits, Johannes Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), in Peking. When the prince returned to Korea, he brought back with him a complete collection of scientific and religious works which Adam Schall gave him as gifts on his return home. The prince, who was interested in western science rather than Catholicism, unfortunately died of malaria two months after he arrived in Seoul on the 18th of February, 1645. As the religious works which he brought back seem to have been left unexposed to anyone, this contact had no real influence.

In fact, the reading of Catholic books by Korean scholars began at almost the same time, when one of the members of the annual embassy to Peking brought some back. The earliest record is that Yi Su-kwang read Matteo Ricci's t'ien chu shih-i and mentioned the Catholic Church as well as European nations in his book, chibong yusŏl, which came out in 1614. Many other scholars, especially the Sirhak scholars, followed him and began to study Catholic books. Although they were mainly interested in the scientific and scholarly pursuits of Western culture, through their study, Christianity began to spread into intellectual

circles. In the 1770s, some intellectuals began to practise the Christian faith. This means that, at the beginning of its history, Catholicism was not accepted so much as a religion but as a new learning. Because of this, Catholicism had been known for a long time in such terms as "Sin-hak" (New Learning), "Sŏ-hak" (Western Learning), or "Ch'ŏnju-hak" (God's Learning).

But the scholarly interests of the Sirhak scholars came to turn into religious interests around the time when they found a young man, Yi Sŭng-hun (1756-1801), who was about to go to Peking as a member of the annual embassy in the winter of 1783. They requested him to visit the Jesuits in Peking to obtain information about Christianity. While he was staying in Peking for two months, he received instruction from the Jesuit priests, and was baptized with the name of Peter by Father Louis de Grammont in 1784. On his return, he also brought back many religious books such as "an explanation of the Seven Sacraments, commentaries on the Gospels, catechisms, prayer books, and hagiographies".⁴² Soon after his arrival in Korea, he set himself to work to proclaim his new knowledge, and was absorbed in the study of Christian truth with his friends. Having no priest, they baptized a number of converts, organized their own church, with a bishop and priests, and practised the celebration of Mass, the hearing of confessions, and all the other practices of the Catholic Church, as Yi had learned them in China.⁴³ Although this

⁴² Grayson, *op.cit.*, p.73.

⁴³ Stephen Neill considers it as "an astonishing example of lay Christianity creating and maintaining itself in a remote and inaccessible area". (*A History of Christian Missions*, Penguin Books, 1964, p.414): Yi Sŭng-hun served as a bishop until 1790. (Yu Hong-yŏl, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p.93)

initiative was soon ended by the order of the Bishop of Peking, Alexandre de Gouvêa, in 1790, it is reasonable to say that this was the foundation of Catholicism in Korea.

Starting from the year 1785, when the first Christian martyrdom occurred, the first hundred years of the Catholic Church were a story of continuous persecution. Through the series of terrible persecutions (in 1791, 1801, 1839, 1846, and between 1866 and 1873), the number of martyrs came to nearly ten thousand.⁴⁴ Until the Catholic Church gained religious freedom by the treaty between France and Korea in 1886, its history had been one of constant sufferings, hiding, arrests, and martyrdom. The reasons for the persecution were complex, but can be attributed to cultural, and socio-political factors.

Firstly, when the Catholic Church was introduced, it had to meet cultural conflict between Confucian ideas and Christian ideas. For instance, forsaking ancestor worship was obviously a case of unconventional belief.⁴⁵ The order of the Bishop of Peking in 1790, which forbade Christians taking any part in

⁴⁴ The number of Catholics was estimated at 4,000 in 1794, 10,000 in 1800, 23,000 in 1865, and 12,500 in 1882. But the number of martyrs around 1870 alone was estimated at 8,000. (Dallet, op.cit., p.588; Yu Hong-yŏl, op.cit., vol. 2, pp.177, 543f.)

⁴⁵ The edicts for the prohibition of ancestor worship were given by Pope Clement XI on 19th March, 1715, and by Benedict XIV on 11th July, 1742. Due to the edicts, the Chinese mission was struck a fatal blow and met the great persecution in 1784. The Chosŏn dynasty followed in the steps of China and began to persecute the Catholics in 1791. (Yu Hong-yŏl, op.cit., pp.95-104). Ancestor worship was finally permitted by Rome in the same package with its toleration of the civil rituals of Shinto in 1939. (Acta Apostolicae Sedis, 32-24: William E. Biernatzki, S.J., Korean Catholicism in the 70s, Maryknoll, New York, 1975. p.8)

ancestor worship, gave the Confucianists a good excuse to persecute the Christians.

Secondly, the Catholic Church was first introduced at the time when society was chaotic because of the terrible foreign invasions, while the government was trying hard to retain national dignity. The persecution may thus have been inevitable, because of fears that widespread acceptance of this foreign religion would mean subordination of the state to foreign powers. The fear of a foreign power, in fact, resulted from a letter of Hwang Sa-yŏng as well as the Japanese and Manchu invasions. After the persecution in 1801, Hwang wrote a letter to the Bishop of Peking, called Hwang Sa-yŏng paeksŏ,⁴⁶ which explained the details of persecution and asked for the sending of French warships to threaten the Korean government. As this letter was detected before it was taken out of country, it gave government the political excuse for a persecution which produced over three hundred martyrs. On the one hand, Hwang's intention was purely to obtain religious freedom with the assistance of the French army. On the other hand, it was recognized by government as treacherous behaviour. It resulted in the government identifying the Catholic Church as an agent of Western nations. For this reason, it is not surprising that the persecutions in 1864 and 1866 happened immediately after the conflicts between Korea and French warships in 1864 and American warships in 1866.

⁴⁶ This letter was found by the Bishop of the Korean Church, Father G. C. Mutel, in 1894, when the Tonghak Revolution broke out and the Tonghaks tried to burn old documents of government. This is a controversial letter from the standpoint of nationalism. (cf. Min Kyong-bae, *op.cit.*, pp.74f.; Yu Hong-yŏl, *op.cit.*, pp.164-170)

The backgrounds of early converts are also significant. The initial founders and converts were from the Yangban class, but one should note also the small band of scholars known as Sirhak scholars, who pursued the way of truth and knowledge and sought a reformation of socio-political systems. Although they were seekers of the truth through pragmatic ways of thinking, they belonged to a specific political faction and, in fact, were alienated from political power at that time. Therefore, their affiliation with Catholicism could be interpreted as political activity. Throughout the furious persecutions, they gave up their high social status in order to keep their faith and had to hide in remote villages where the persecutions did not reach. It is not surprising that, during the middle of nineteenth century, many converts came from the low social class.⁴⁷

It is said that the period before 1886 was the Catacomb Church of Korean Catholicism. The Church struggled merely to survive; it stressed only other-worldliness in order to console the people for the suffering of persecution. This represents a change from the earliest period, whose Catholic was received as a this-worldly means of the pursuit of knowledge by some scholars. Catholicism took root, however, in the pre-existing framework of religious values which focused on shamanistic and otherworldly concerns. This transition may also have been influenced by the change in the social origins of converts from the Yangban to the P'yŏngmin. For the acceptance of the faith by the Sirhak scholars

⁴⁷ According to a letter of Father Marie-Antoine- Nicolas Daveluy (1818-1866) to the seminary of the Paris Foreign Mission, the converts from 1845 to 1866 were mostly old men and women, widows or widowers. (Dallet, *op.cit.*, pp.305-306; Yu Hong-yŏl, *op.cit.*, vol.1, pp.466-467)

occurred on the ground of Confucian values and ways of thinking which they had been taught. The P'yŏngmin, by contrast, must have accepted the faith in a religious environment in which shamanism was prevailing.

Finally, the change in the social status of converts was accelerated by the use of Han'gŭl. Although the first converts used only the Chinese catechism, they began to translate it into Korean in order to evangelize the common people who had little knowledge of Chinese. A typical translation was Sŏnggyŏng chikhae and Sŏnggyŏng kwangik in the early 1790s.⁴⁸ The commentary and catechism were edited as single volume of Sŏnggyŏng chikhae kwangik.⁴⁹ It is surprising that a Korean catechism was already translated in 1790, and it is believed also that in the same period many Christian poems were written in Korean.⁵⁰ These works must have influenced the conversion of the Koreans, especially of the common people and women. The Bible passages and doctrines translated into Korean helped them assimilate the Christian

⁴⁸ Sŏnggyŏng chikhae (commentary) was written by Father Emmanuel Diaz, Junior, and published in Peking in 1636. Sŏnggyŏng kwangik (catechism) was by Father de Muilla in 1740. (Yi Mahn-yol, Han'guk kidokgyo munhwa undongsa: History of Cultural Movement in the Korean Christianity, CLSK, Seoul, 1987, p.432)

⁴⁹ It contains a third of four gospels: 1,138 out of the total of 3,709 verses in the gospels. 373 out of 1,070 in St. Matthew, 118 out of 680 in St. Mark, 367 out of 1,080 in St. Luke, and 280 out of 879 in St. John. (Yi Mahn-yol, op.cit., p.433)

⁵⁰ The catechism, "chukyo yoji" (the essentials of Lord's teaching), was written by Chŏng Yak-yong (1762- 1836) who was one of the initial converts as well as a leading figure among Sirhak scholars. At the same period, he also wrote a poem on the Ten Commandments. Around two hundred similar poems, which seem to have been written at the turn of 18th century, have been collected. (Yu Hong-yŏl, op.cit., vol.1, p.141; Yi Mahn-yol, op.cit., p.431)

Gospel.

Furthermore, it is possible that this vernacular movement may have indirectly influenced the translation of the Korean New Testament by John Ross.⁵¹ As the only mention Ross makes of Catholic teaching is that the Korean Catholic Church used the Chinese word for God, he is unlikely to have been directly influenced by Catholic literature. When he wrote his Korean history, he was already translating the gospels, and judging from the fact that he is mistaken about the word for God used by Catholics, he had little knowledge of the Korean Catholic Church.⁵² Although the early Korean Catholic Church has often been criticized for not having taught the Scriptures, and for over emphasizing the ecclesiastical structure, the passion of the early Catholics and their continual efforts to evangelize Korea must be considered as one of the foundations of Korean Christianity as a whole.

⁵¹ Ridel, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Korea, published a Korean-French dictionary in 1880. Ross confesses that he was indebted to the Korean-French dictionary notwithstanding its faults of omission and commission. If this dictionary is supposed to contain vocabularies in So~nggyong chikhae, it must have affected the translation work of Ross. (Felix Clair Ridel, *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français*, Yokohama, 1880; *Grammaire Coréenne*, 1881: John Ross, "Corean New Testament", *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, no.14, 1883; cf. *United Presbyterian Missionary Record* for 1889, p.15)

⁵² From the beginning, the Catholic Church has been using "Ch'õn-ju" (T'ien-chu in Chinese) for the God, but Ross mentions that it was using "Tien laoye". Both words have almost the same meaning, but the later is unfamiliar to Koreans. (Ross, HC, p.355)

(6) Early contact with Protestantism

During the nineteenth century, Korean society began to experience very rapid change. The forced and sudden change from a hermit nation to an open nation in a socio-political sense, brought Korea into a chaotic condition. The total upheaval of society also meant that there was no central system of thought to support the society. Confucianism, as the main current of Korean thought at that time, was the upper-class, male-dominated, rather sterile, and only semi-religious. Buddhism, with its temples hidden deep in the remote mountain areas, was by this time above all the religion of women who could not exert an important effect upon society. In a word, when Protestantism knocked at the door of Korea,⁵³ the major religions were not performing their functions effectively in society. Both religions had lost their identities and forgotten their mission in society.

⁵³ There were two Protestants who accidentally entered Korea before the 19th century. The first was Jan Janse Weltvree (c1595-1670?), who landed in Korea because of the shortage of water in his ship in 1627. He is known to have been employed by the Korean government as a cannon-founder. He died in Korea, but there is no record whether he attempted to preach the Christian gospel to Koreans. (Gale, *op.cit.*, pp.271, 348; Gari Ledyard, *The Dutch come to Korea*, Seoul, 1971, pp.25-37) The next was Hendrik Hamel (c1630-1692) who was a ship's writer of the *Sperwer*, a trading vessel of the Dutch East India Company. As the ship was wrecked on the coast of Quelpart (Cheju) Island in 1653, he, with his crew, was detained in Korea for fourteen years. He escaped by boat to Japan in 1666, and returned to Holland in 1668. He published an account of his experiences in Korea. But he does not seem to have exerted any Christian influence upon Koreans. (For Hendrik Hamel's *Narrative of an Unlucky Voyage and Shipwreck on the Coast of Korea*, see J. Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol.IV. "An Account of the Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel on the Coast of the Isle of Quelpart, together with the Description of the Kingdom of Corea translated out of French", London, 1732). It is fair to say that both cases were accidental contacts.

In these circumstances, the first Protestant missionary quest was made by Karl Gützlaff (1803-1851), a Pomeranian, who served in China under the Netherlands Missionary Society. He was educated at Halle and had worked in Siam and Macao since 1826.⁵⁴ Later he, as one of the intimate friends of Robert Morrison, engaged in the Bible translation work in Chinese with Morrison.

When the East India Company sent the Lord Amherst to ascertain the possibility of opening the northern ports of China for British commerce in 1832, Gützlaff was on board as interpreter, doctor, and chaplain.⁵⁵ The ship reached one of the islands near the cape of Changsan, on the west coast of Hwanghae Province on 17th July, 1832, in order to find a way to hand a petition to the King of Korea. Unable to contact even the local magistrates because of the hostile feelings shown towards them by local people, the explorers went further south and arrived at Basil's Bay (the mouth of the River Kūm) on 23th July. This time they were able to deliver the letter, with presents, requesting the opening of a trade relationship between Britain and Korea, to

⁵⁴ For the standard work about Gützlaff, see Schlyter, Herman, *Der China Missionar Karl Gützlaff und seine Heimatbasis*, CWK Gleerup, 1976. For a brief sketch of Gützlaff's life in English, see *The Vanguard of the Christian Army*, pp.207-213; *The Encyclopaedia of Mission*, 2nd. ed. by H.O. Dwight, & H.A. Tupper, & E.M. Bliss, Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1904; M. Broomhall says that Gützlaff left the Netherlands Missionary Society in 1828 and worked independently. (ed. *The Christian Empire, A General and Missionary Survey*, Morgan & Scott, London, p.380)

⁵⁵ H.H. Lindsay, *Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China*, 2nd. ed., p.1 (Paik, op.cit., p.44): C.F.A. Gützlaff, *Journal of Three Voyages along with the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832 & 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands*, Frederick Westley & A.H. Danis, London, 1834.

the king through the local magistrates.⁵⁶ Among the presents, there were a Bible and a set of religious tracts in Chinese.⁵⁷ While they were waiting for a reply from the royal court, Gutzlaff also distributed Bibles and religious tracts to the people. After two weeks, they were told that Korea could not have any contact with foreigners without the decree of the Chinese Emperor, and the letter and presents were returned.⁵⁸ They then gave them to the royal commissioner who brought the final reply, and they left Korean shores on 10th August.

On their departure, Gutzlaff describes their visit as "the loss of time incurred to no purpose".⁵⁹ He may be right in this view as they, like the exploration team, failed to realize the anticipated result. His regret for the loss of time indicates that he may have considered himself as a member of the exploration group rather than a missionary. In the eyes of Koreans, he can be seen a missionary who adhered closely to the commercialism of the West. He reports his opinion.

Those parts of Corea which we have seen, have in themselves great resources; and we think that the interior is far more cultivated than the islands of the coast. Doubtless there would be a demand for British goods; for we saw they invariably prized the calico and

⁵⁶ H.H. Lindsay, *op.cit.*, pp.216-218, 227; quoted from Paik, *op.cit.*, p.44; cf. Gutzlaff, *op.cit.*, pp.273f.

⁵⁷ Gutzlaff, *op.cit.*, p.273: On their embarking from China, Robert Morrison sent a large stock of the Chinese Scriptures to Gutzlaff for distribution during his voyage. (M. Broomhall, Robert Morrison, p.195; Paik, *op.cit.*, p.44)

⁵⁸ Gutzlaff, *op.cit.*, p.284: The whole matter did not seem to have been done in consultation with the king. The royal commissioner says that "to receive your letter and presents is illegal; --- as it is illegal, we cannot represent your affairs to his majesty, and accordingly returned all to you." (*ibid.*)

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.285.

the woollens, cloths entirely unknown among them. Nor, as the natives would have us believe, do we think that the country is so entirely destitute of silver, as to be unable to purchase annually some cargoes of European merchandise.⁶⁰

August 17 - We passed many islands of every imaginable shape. The most southern, Quelpoert (now Cheju), is a charming spot. It is well cultivated, and so conveniently situated, that if a factory was established there, we might trade with the greatest ease to Japan, Corea, Manchou Tartary, and China. But if this is not done, could not such an island become a missionary station? Would it not be giving a fatal blow to those hateful systems of exclusion, by establishing a mission in so important a situation?⁶¹

According to the above statements, Gützlaff appears to be an agent of the expansion of Western capitalism. But, from the point of view from which his account was written, as a report of his observations, his attitude may be understood. Although he regretted the loss of time, he, as a missionary, did not lose his hope of having missionary contact with Korea. Judging from the fact that Koreans accepted the Bibles and tracts, whether they read them or not, he believed that "in the great plan of the eternal God, there will be a time of merciful visitation for them", and "God can bless even these feeble beginnings".⁶² These seem to have been real if feeble beginnings; it was the most significant event in the Christian mission that the introduction of the Word of God was first accomplished. It was his contribution to Korea to have made the first contact of

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.287.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.288.

⁶² *ibid.*, p.288.

Protestantism with the country.⁶³

Twenty years after Gützlaff distributed the Chinese Bible, another British survey ship appeared on the south coast of Korea. The ship, H.M.S. Barracouta, arrived in Pusan harbour, in company with H.M.S. Pique and Winchester, on the early morning of 30th August, 1854.⁶⁴ The next day, when crowds of Koreans, with officials, came on board to give presents of melons and capsicums, J.M. Tronson who was the commander of this expedition group distributed Japanese Bibles and tracts. Here is an interesting account;

I showed some of our visitors specimens of Mantchu writing; these they did not understand; I then tried them with Japanese Testaments which they read fluently, and appeared eager to get copies. I thought I should not have a better opportunity of furthering the wishes of the good Bishop of Victoria than by distributing some Prayer-books and Testaments amongst the Coreans; therefore I did so, the people expressing themselves very grateful.⁶⁵

Before they sailed for Nagasaki on the afternoon of September 1st, Tronson had an opportunity to land and see Korean soil. He also presented an old man with a Testament, and confirmed that he could read the Japanese Bible. Not having been a missionary, Tronson has not been mentioned in the Christian

⁶³ Another contribution would be the arrangement by which the royal commissioner agreed to treat any wrecked ship and sailors from a humanitarian point of view. (ibid., p.286)

⁶⁴ J.M. Tronson, R.N., A Voyage to Japan, Kamtschatka, Siberia, Tartary, and Various Parts of Coast of China in H.M.S. Barracouta; with Charts and views, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1859, pp.384-399. The ships were British ships of war. (p.385); Tronson reports the ship's arrival in Chousan harbour, but, according to his voyage map, it should be the port of Pusan.(p.388)

⁶⁵ Tronson, op.cit., p.390.

history of Korea at all. But, in respect of his sowing another seed of the gospel, he cannot be ignored.

The next missionary who entered Korea was Robert Jermain Thomas. He was born in Rhayader, Radnorshire in Wales on 7th September, 1840, and was educated at New College, University of London, from 1857 to 1863. He was ordained to the ministry at Hanover Chapel, Abergavenny, on 4th June, 1863, and was appointed as a missionary to China under the London Missionary Society.⁶⁶ Accompanied by his wife, Thomas left for China in July. On 24th March 1864, shortly after they arrived in Shanghai, his wife died. His wife's death gave him such a shock that he resigned his post, and engaged in secular business as an interpreter of Chinese custom in Chefoo.⁶⁷

In 1865, he had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of Alexander Williamson⁶⁸, the agent for the National Bible Society

⁶⁶ The Dictionary of Welsh Biography, down to 1940, ed., by Sir John Edward Lloyd, & R.J. Jenkins, B.H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1959; The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle, London Missionary Society, Vol.27, August, 1885, pp.249-250. Register of Missionaries Deputations, etc., 1796-1923, London Missionary Society, 1923.

⁶⁷ He seems to have again applied for his position to LMS and to have been accepted as their missionary in January 1866. At this time he took charge of the Chinese Government Anglo-Chinese School at Peking (Register, p.81). cf. Wm. Muirhead's letter to Dr. Tidman, dated on 8th December, 1864; Min, Kyung-Bae, op.cit., pp.139ff.

⁶⁸ Williamson was born on 5th December 1829 at Falkirk, and educated at Glasgow. He served at Linlithgow Church (independent church) from September 1849. He was ordained at West George Church in Glasgow, and appointed missionary to China under the London Missionary Society in April 1855. He engaged in missionary work at Shanghai and Pingpoo between September 1855 and November 1857. Owing to his ill-health, he resigned his post and returned to England in April 1858. He became agent of the NBSS and returned to Shanghai in December 1863. His two younger brothers

of Scotland, and, at the same time, to learn about the persecution of the Korean Catholics through two Korean Catholics who took refuge in China from the persecution.⁶⁹ Both Williamson and Thomas realized that the Catholics were ignorant of the Scriptures, and, at Williamson's suggestion, Thomas decided to go to Korea with the two Koreans and distribute copies of the Scriptures. He arrived on the west coast of Korea from Chefoo on 13th September, 1865, and stayed for two and a half months, distributing the Bible and tracts, and acquiring some knowledge of the Korean language.

The following year, when the most furious persecution against the Catholics was carried out, he was on board an American trading ship, the General Sherman, as a interpreter as well as a sub-agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland. The General Sherman, which sought to open trade with Korea, sailed up the Taedong River to P'yŏngyang. When the ship was stuck in the shallow stream, she was set afire and destroyed by the order of the Magistrate. All members of the crew were massacred. Thomas was also killed by the sword of a Korean soldier about the 2nd of September, 1866.⁷⁰ The Rev. Thomas, a

were also missionaries of the LMS; James (1836-1869) was missionary to China from 1863, Henry C. (1839-1869) was missionary to Jamaica from 1863 and to Dysalsdorp in S. Africa from 1866. (Dictionary of National Biography, vol.LXII, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1900; Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc., 1796-1923, LMS, 1923.)

⁶⁹ Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland (hereafter ARNBSS) for 1865, pp.35-37.

⁷⁰ Paik, op.cit., p.50.; Annual Report of the London Missionary Society for 1867, p.80.

"great promise as a linguist",⁷¹ became the first Protestant martyr in Korea. But, when Samuel A. Moffett formed a catechumen class in P'yŏngyang in October, 1893, he found a man who received a Chinese New Testament from Thomas just before he died.⁷² It may be right to say that he discovered the missionary value and possibility of Korea, and "formed a high idea of the province as a sphere of missionary labour".⁷³

Finally, it is worthwhile to note the work of Alexander Williamson, who sent Thomas with the Scriptures to Korea, and later gave some information about Korea to John Ross. In discussing the introduction of the Gospel into Korea, he cannot be omitted in the history of the Korean Protestant Church. When he made a journey of exploration to Manchuria, he met Koreans coming to trade with the Chinese in the Corean Gate in the autumn of 1867, and sold them a number of Scriptures and tracts.⁷⁴ Although according to his report he did not have the opportunity of visiting Korea, he had a good deal of contact with Koreans who were on a visit to Chefoo.⁷⁵ Therefore he would appear to have had a great deal more information about Korea than any other European. He saw that Korea is "a country of great capabilities",

⁷¹ Edinburgh Review, Vol.136, no.278, 1872, p.328

⁷² Paik, op.cit., p.51; S.A. Moffett, "Early Days in Pyong Yang", The Korean Mission Field, Vol.21, No.3 (March 1925), p.54.

⁷³ Annual Report of the London Missionary Society for 1867, p.49; quoted from Paik, op.cit., p.50.

⁷⁴ ARNBSS for 1868, p.44.

⁷⁵ A. Williamson, Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia with some account of Corea, 2 vols., Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1870, Vol.2, p.295.

and "ought to be opened to European intercourse" for the advancement of the country by "stimulus and guidance of western religion and civilization".⁷⁶ In the sense of the expansion of Western Christendom, he may have been right to see advantages of foreign contact in that way. He believed that it was the duty of the strong to help the weak; the intelligent, the ignorant; and the civilized, those who are lower in the scale of advancement. Furthermore, he said.

Hence, I believe, it is at once the duty and privilege of such countries as Great Britain and America to lead the van, and use the power God has given them to open up countries which are stupidly and ignorantly closed against them like Corea. --- War is a terrible evil in every aspect, but it seems a condition of progress in this fallen world; and, in view of the advantages, moral, intellectual, and spiritual, which would accrue to a people brought into full contact with the blaze of true civilization, the cost would be immeasurably counterbalanced.... Let a large force, naval and military, which clearly - in the eyes of the Coreans themselves - would be irresistible, appear at their capital, explain our motives, and demand such concessions as are consistent with natural justice.⁷⁷

From the statement, it is clear that for the evangelization he appealed to the British government to send a large military force to Korea. Although his appeal was for the goodness of Korea, he would have been regarded as an agent of foreign power in the eyes of Koreans.

As we have seen, the initial contacts of Protestantism in Korea were nothing but knocking on the door. However, there is one thing common to all these cases; that is, the introduction of the Bible or part of the Bible. Although the Scriptures were in Chinese or Japanese, they were understandable to some Koreans in

⁷⁶ Williamson, op.cit., p.310.

⁷⁷ Williamson, op.cit., p.311.

certain areas. In connection with the early Christian contacts with Korea, it can be compared with "the parable of the sower". Early Christianity came to Korea and sowed its seed. But, like the seed on the path and the rocky ground, the seed did not spring up, or it dried up as soon as it sprang up. The Catholic Church was also introduced into Korea and sowed its seed in Korean soil, but it fell among the thorns. The initial seed of Protestantism was sown, but it was done in the wrong season. When, as in Catholic Church history, some Protestant missionaries attempted to sow the seed of the gospel in Korea, it was at the time that Korea prohibited any contact with foreign countries. The seed of the gospel had not yet been sown on good ground.

In the socio-cultural stratification, Confucianism was the religion of the Yangban and the Chungin; Buddhism was that of the P'yongmin, but mainly of women; Shamanism was that of the P'yongmin and the Ch'ŏnmin, but it was unorganized religion. Catholicism, having been initially received as western learning by the Sirhak scholars, was channeled into being the religion of the literati. Although the social status of converts changed slightly from the Yangban to the Chungin and the P'yongmin after furious persecutions, they still belonged to the literati who could read the Chinese characters and they used mainly Chinese catechisms, although they translated it into Korean and wrote it in Han'gŭl. Protestantism, which was introduced through the distribution of the Scriptures, would also be monopolized by a certain social class. Those who could have contact with foreigners at that time, who read the Chinese characters since

the Scriptures were in Chinese, were the Chungin or the educated P'yongmin. In this sense, there was no comprehensive religion to which all classes adhered. Therefore, the end of the nineteenth century can be defined as the period of religious disorder, combining with socio-political disorder. The religious disorder implies that there was no religion to lead the main current of national thought, and no religion by, of, and for the people. Perhaps in the strict sense, religion by, of, and for the people can exist only with the presence of vernacular Scriptures.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LIFE OF JOHN ROSS AND
HIS INITIAL CONTACT WITH KOREANS

John Ross is remembered simply either, in Scotland, as the founder of the Protestant Church in Manchuria, or, in Korea, as the translator of the first Korean New Testament. His life, especially his early life in Scotland, has not been much studied either in Scotland or in Korea. Only one biographical study of John Ross has appeared in Korea in 1982, by an American scholar, James H. Grayson.¹ Although the book is brief, it is important in that it was the first book to examine the life of John Ross.

Because there are not many sources about the early years of his life, it is difficult to trace his life back in Scotland. From a few fragments of information, we can only guess how Ross grew up, what kind of influences he might have undergone, and where he was educated and worked in Scotland, before he went to

¹ Grayson (1944-), as missionary of the United Methodist Church of the USA, taught anthropology and comparative religion at the Kyōngbuk National University (1973-1976), Kyemyōng University (1979-1982), and the Methodist Theological Seminary (1982-1986), Korea. He is director of the Centre for Korean Studies in the University of Sheffield. While he was studying for his doctorate degree in comparative religion at New College, Edinburgh between 1976 and 1979, he became interested in the life and work of John Ross in relation to the early Korean Mission. He interviewed grandchildren of Ross and people living in his home village, and collected materials from various sources. In 1982, he published a book in Korean on the life and work of John Ross: Kim, Chong-hyon (his Korean name), *Na Yohan: Han'gukūi ch'ōt sōngyosa* (John Ross: Korea's First Missionary), Kyemyong University Press, Taegu, Korea, 1982, pp.19-70 [Hereafter JRKFM]. For a summary of his work in English, see "The Manchurian Connection: The Life and Work of the Rev. Dr. John Ross" by J.H. Grayson [Hereafter LWJR], in *Essays in Celebration of the Centenary of Korean-British Diplomatic Relations*, ed. by Chong-wha Chung and J.E. Horae, The Korean-British Society, Seoul, 1984, pp.53-68.

China.

1. His life in Scotland (1842-1872)

(1) His parish background

John Ross was born as the eldest son of Hugh Ross² and his wife Catherine Sutherland on the 6th July 1842, at Rarichie, Nigg, in Ross-shire.³ The Ross family belonged to the parish Church at Nigg of the United Presbyterian Church (hereafter U.P. Church), which is now called "Chapelhill congregation", one of the three congregations of the "Fearn and Nigg Parish Church" in the Presbytery of Tain in the Church of Scotland. Grayson argues that John Ross must have been influenced by the culture, religion, and geography of the area, around the mouth of the Cromarty Firth.⁴

The first influence on the life of John Ross was the fact that his father was a tailor, in Balintore, and was in a position to hear about events in the outside world from his customers such

² Hugh Ross, as a tailor, seems to have been a person of some local esteem. For instance, it is said that he was a member of the Board of Health, established in 1832 in order to take preventive measures against the outbreak of cholera. As Grayson suggests, this implies that the family of Hugh Ross were members of the local middle class and formed part of a local elite: Grayson, JRKFM, p.21; LWJR, p.55.

³ Grayson gives the date of birth as the 9th August as The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland 1900-1929 records; according to the birth certificate of John Ross, it should be the 6th July.

⁴ Grayson, JRKFM, pp.20-22; LWJR, pp.55-56.

as travellers and traders. In the village of Balintore on the Moray Firth, at the time of John Ross, there was considerable sea traffic going to and from places on the Continent. Therefore John Ross might begin to dream of other places beyond his village boundary.

A second influence was the cultural fact that the parish of Nigg was a "predominantly Gaelic speaking area" in the middle of the nineteenth century. Ross must have grown up speaking Gaelic until he learned English at the local school, Hilton, in the parish of Fearn. This experience of having learned two languages at an early age may have affected his ability to acquire fluency in Chinese and Korean. The other factor which influenced the development of John Ross would be the legends and fairy tales of Gaelic culture, along with the remains of a Danish fort, a mysterious runic stone (Clach a'Charridh)⁵, and numerous wells--the most famous one of which is called Sùl na Bã.

A third influence can be found in the church traditions which led to the creation of the U.P. Church in the middle of the nineteenth century. Grayson seems to be fully convinced that "Ross must have learned to prize the value of taking principled stands on important issues which confronted his Christian faith".⁶

It is certainly true that man is the creature of his

⁵ This stone is not Gaelic, but Pictish. This was erected not later than the close of the 7th century.

⁶ Grayson (LWJR, p.56) does not give examples of what kind of important issues his Christian faith confronted. But it would be the principles of the U.P. Church, which came out at the time of Disruption, and became the motivation forming the U.P. Church in 1847.

environment. But it remains uncertain how much John Ross was influenced by these factors. For instance, although the parishes of Nigg and Fearn were bound together and there seems to have been little difference in their history and environment, Grayson refers essentially to information on the parish of Nigg.⁷ Although the Ross family belonged to the parish of Nigg, they seem to have made their living in the sphere of influence of the parish of Fearn. According to the birth certificate of John Ross, he was born at Easter March near the east end of the parish of Nigg.⁸ His father, as a tailor, seems to have had the tailor's shop at Broomton Cottage in Rarichie, near Balintore which was likely to be the centre of his custom. And John Ross had to go to the local school in Hilton, because the only parish school in

⁷ Grayson seems to have made reference to the parish of Nigg in *The Old Statistical Account* and *The New Statistical Account*. For the general information of Nigg and Fearn: Watson, W.J., *Place-names of Ross and Cromarty*, The Northern Countries Printing and Publishing Company, Inverness, 1904; Scott, A.B., *The Pictish Nation, its People and its Church*, T.N. Foulis, Edinburgh & London, 1918; Mowat, Ian R.M., *Easter Ross 1790-1850*, John Donald Publisher, Edinburgh, 1987; *Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club*, vol.9 & 23, etc. For the accounts of the parish of Nigg and Fearn: *Third Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol.13; Small, Robert, *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900*, vol.2, Edinburgh, David M. Small, 1904; Mackelvie, William, *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, Edinburgh, Oliphant & Company, and Andrew Elliot, 1873; Munro, J.B., "The First Dissenting Congregation in the Highlands", *United Presbyterian Magazine* (hereafter UPM), vol.9 for 1865 (pp.307-315, 354-360, 401-408).

⁸ Easter March seems to have been the name of a cottage at Easter Rarichie which was bounded by the village of Balintore in the parish of Fearn. There are no remains of Easter March, but it is said to have been located beside Broomton Cottage where John Ross actually grew up.

Nigg was "not well situated for the population".⁹ For these reasons, Ross may have been much influenced by the social environment of the parish of Fearn.

As far as language is concerned, the living language of both parishes was Gaelic until the end of the eighteenth century. The Old Statistical Account records that, at that time, many people in the parish of Fearn could already understand English.¹⁰ Furthermore, the New Statistical Account records that English had made rapid progress in the parish of Nigg between the 1820s and the early 1830s.¹¹ It implies that there was a rapid decline in the use of the Gaelic in that area. As the account of the parish of Nigg was drawn up in 1836, and it seems likely that Hugh Ross spoke English by reason of his occupation, John Ross may in fact have learned English before he went to the school.

If the family of Hugh Ross were a local elite, their social position in the small rural community in the early nineteenth century would have very much influenced the early life of John Ross. The local economy of Nigg and Fearn then was based on farming, fishing, and small scale trading by sea, and these complex features of the community seem to have created a comparatively cosmopolitan atmosphere. At the time of his

⁹ The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol.14, "Inverness-Ross and Cromarty", William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1845. p.36 of Ross and Cromarty. Although it was well situated near the centre of the parish, the school was quite a distance from his house.

¹⁰ Sinclair, Sir. John, The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799, vol.17, EP Publishing Ltd., Edinburgh, (reprint. 1983), p.389.

¹¹ The New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol.14, Ross and Cromarty, p.31.

childhood, both parishes of Nigg and Fearn were flourishing, judging from the change of population.¹² In the middle of the nineteenth century, the general increase of the population in the parish of Fearn would have resulted from the importance at this time of the fishing industry along the east coast. The population in the parish of Nigg for the first 50 years of the 19th century was extremely stable, but the decrease after 1851 could be accounted for by the tendency for the ambitious and enterprising to leave the parish in search of work and better conditions. It may have been caused by a change of economic system from agriculture to small industry. In this sense, as Grayson understands, the children of Hugh Ross also seemed to have struggled for the betterment of their lives in the world beyond their native area.

When we trace John's seven siblings -- Donald, Hugh, William, Alexander, Catherine, Eliza, and Mary -- Donald took a medical degree from the University of Glasgow in 1878 and at one time planned to join his brother John on the China mission. William and Alexander fixed themselves in Edinburgh as a miller and a policeman. Catherine went over to Manchuria in order to take care of John's baby in December 1873, and married the Rev. John MacIntyre there in 1876. Eliza studied at the Royal Scottish

¹² The census figures of the parish of Nigg are:

(1801) 1,443; (1811) 1,349; (1821) 1,436; (1831) 1,404;
 (1841) 1,426; (1851) 1,457; (1861) 1,253; (1871) 1,201;
 (1881) 1,000; (1891) 930; (1901) 892; (1911) 827;
 (1921) 867; (1931) 726; (1951) 573.

Those of the parish of Fearn are:

(1801) 1,528; (1811) 1,508; (1821) 1,654; (1831) 1,695;
 (1841) 1,914; (1851) 2,122; (1861) 2,083; (1871) 2,135;
 (1881) 2,135; (1891) 1,900; (1901) 1,761; (1911) 1,789;
 (1921) 1,680; (1931) 1,492; (1951) 1,318.

Academy of Art in Edinburgh and, with Mary, settled in Edinburgh.¹³ Their outgoing search for a better life can be considered as characteristic of a pioneering spirit. This pioneering character would make John Ross go to China, to found the first Manchurian mission, and even to translate the first Korean New Testament.

(2) His Theological Training and Mission Work in Scotland

There is no record of the formal education of John Ross, apart from his theological education in the Theological Hall of the U.P. Church. He began his theological course as one of the 33 first year students in 1865 at the Theological Hall in Edinburgh. He, as a student of the U.P. College, is known to have been examined in the presbytery of Elgin and Inverness, but, during the 1865 session -- his first year session of the Hall -- he was enrolled as one of students of the presbytery of Glasgow. In the spring of 1866, he was appointed to engage in mission work on the island of Lismore by the Home Mission Committee. For this reason, he presented a petition to the Synod through the presbytery of Glasgow, stating that "it would be inconvenient for him to attend the Natural Philosophy Class next session, or to appear for examination at the stated meeting of the presbytery's committee for the superintendence of students".¹⁴ His request for leave of

¹³ Cf. Grayson, JRKFM, p.22.

¹⁴ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church (hereafter PSUPC), vol.3, 1862-69, p.280.

absence was granted at the Synod meeting on 21st May 1866.

But during his second session of the Divinity Hall, he was under the superintendence of the presbytery of Edinburgh. From the spring of 1867, it is known that he worked as a catechist among the Gaelic-speaking population of Inverness.¹⁵ As a senior student during 1867-69 sessions, he had belonged to the presbytery of Elgin and Inverness. In his fifth year at the Divinity Hall, he was on trial for licence by the presbytery of Glasgow on 12th September 1869, and, after having satisfactorily passed an examination, he was licensed as a preacher on 11th January 1870.¹⁶ Just before receiving a licence, as a student agent of the Home Mission Committee, he engaged in mission work at Pollock Street and Cathcart Street Mission in Glasgow from 28th November to 11th December 1869, and at Lismore from 19th December 1869 to 6th January 1870.¹⁷

According to a report on Gaelic Missions by the Home Mission Committee, the result of his work at Lismore was "eminently useful as the means of exciting increased attention to the concerns of the soul and the claims of religion".¹⁸ At that time, the Home Mission Committee was desirous of extending the

¹⁵ UPM for 1867, p.374: He, as a Gaelic student, was appointed for the Gaelic missions by the Home Mission Committee according to the suggestion of the Rev. George Robson of Inverness and the Rev. Donald Ross of Queen Street (Inverness).

¹⁶ UPM for 1869, p.517; for 1870, p.130 & 138.

¹⁷ PSUPC, vol.4 1870-73, "Report on Evangelistic Effort and Home Evangelization", p.151.

¹⁸ Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church (hereafter MRUPC) for 1870-71, p.152: For his own report on the mission work at Lismore, see MRUPC for 1870-71, p.300; PSUPC, vol.4 for 1870-73, p.156.

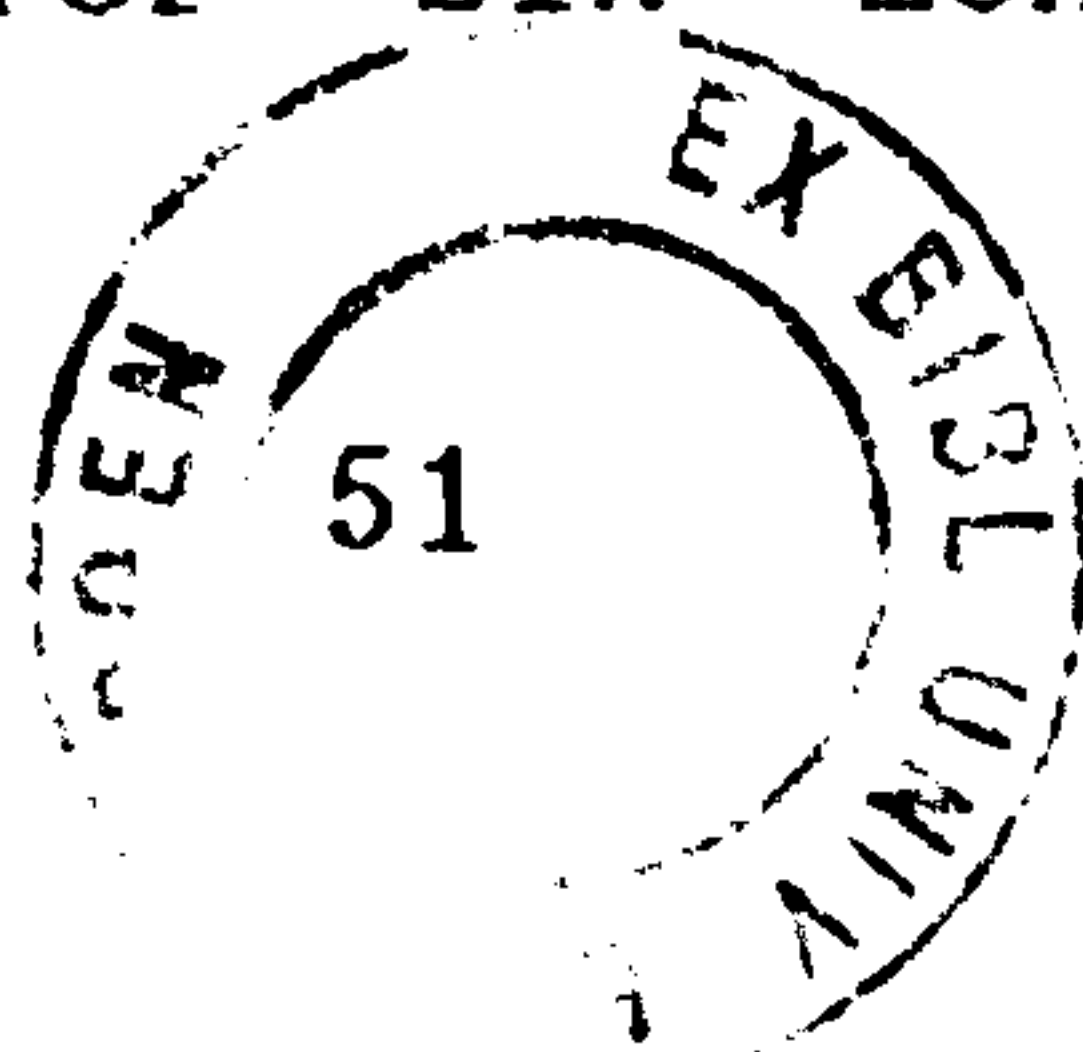
Gaelic Missions into other districts, and sent John Ross, probationer, to Stornoway and Barra Isles from 20th May to 20th June 1870. Ross also spent several months in evangelistic labours at Portree, in various parts of Ross-shire, and in some of the Western Isles.¹⁹ In a similar way he worked for the Gaelic Missions of the U.P. Church until he decided to go to China, but he never received a call from the Gaelic-speaking Highlands in which he would have loved very much to remain.

(3) His decision to join the China Mission

Ross seems to have hesitated in deciding on his way at the beginning of his service. He had been considering the possibility of foreign mission service as well as that of the Gaelic mission for many years, and he started to contact Dr. Hamilton M. MacGill, secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, at the end of 1868. In order to understand the reason why he considered the foreign mission field, it is necessary to see the conditions of the Gaelic missions of the U.P. Church and his work in the Gaelic-speaking area. The following report will be a summary of the situation at that time.

In addition to the services of these evangelistic labourers, meetings have been held in various districts of the Highlands by Mr. John Ross, probationer, at which he has preached the gospel of the grace of God to those who have assembled to hear him, and has endeavoured to direct them to "the Lamb of God who

¹⁹ MRUPC for 1870-71, p.506: According to the report of the presbytery of Glasgow, they requested the Committee of Supply to send John Ross to Portree for six months beginning 1st April 1870. (UPM for 1870, p.178)



taketh away the sins of the world", as a Saviour able and willing to save all who will believe His word and trust in His grace. It was hoped that by these more occasional services the way might have been opened for the permanent location of Mr. Ross in some district in which there might be a lack of the ordinary means of grace, and where a settled congregation might be formed, in connection with which Mr. Ross' knowledge of the Gaelic language might be turned to practical account. This end has not yet been realized, as it has been found that in many quarters the Gaelic-speaking population are strongly prejudiced against the United Presbyterian Church, and are unwilling to accept the ministrations of its licentiates. Still there have not been wanting among the people whom Mr. Ross has visited those who have heard him gladly; and the good seed which he has scattered may hereafter spring up in unlooked-for places, and yield fruit unto life eternal.²⁰

From this report, we can clearly see his motive for considering foreign mission. Ross, as a student missionary or probationer, had served almost exclusively in the Gaelic-speaking districts in the Highlands for six years. During his services, both Ross and the Home Mission Committee seem to have tried to find his permanent location or to open a suitable station among the Gaelic-speaking population in the Highlands, but this attempt was unsuccessful. In other words, he had never got a call from a Gaelic-speaking congregation. There were few Gaelic congregations in the U.P. Church, and it was not popular in the Highland region. For instance, during the year 1872, the Gaelic congregation, Queen Street, in Inverness closed,²¹ and as the

²⁰ PSUPC, vol.4 for 1870-73, p.375: This report was drawn up by the Home Mission Committee in May 1871.

²¹ It is probable that Ross, as a catechist, served this congregation in the Spring of 1867. The majority of congregation members resolved to end their connection with the U.P. Church and joined the Free Church at the end of 1872, and the minority were united to the English speaking congregation: cf. Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church 1733-1900, vol.1, p.647.

services at Portree and Stornoway were for the most part conducted in English, Lismore was "the only remaining mission" of the U.P. Church among the Gaelic-speaking population of the Western and Northern Highlands.²² The Home Mission Committee seemed to want to extend the Gaelic missions by 1870, for they then decided to send Gaelic preachers into the Gaelic-speaking areas. But they had hardly assisted young Gaelic students in their studies with a view to becoming preachers in the Gaelic language. The unsuccessful attempts at evangelizing the Highlands in the past, the gradual continuance of the decline of the Gaelic language, and the occupation of the Highlands by other denominations, may have brought about the failure of the Gaelic missions of the U.P. Church. In fact, the Highlands were by this time well occupied and evangelized by other Churches (especially the Free Church of Scotland), and the U.P. Church was essentially a lowland movement, or urban church in the modern term.

Ross also had to contend with the same circumstances personally. According to MacGill's letter to him on 2nd February 1872, he failed in his ministry at Portree. This failure seems not to have been his fault, but rather the product of circumstances.²³ His failure in Portree, and his having no call from other congregations, do not mean that he was not a man of ministry. It was probably because, as the previous quotation shows, in many quarters the Gaelic-speaking population were "strongly prejudiced against the United Presbyterian Church", and

²² MRUPC for 1873, p.515.

²³ National Library of Scotland Manuscript Collection, United Presbyterian Church Correspondence (hereafter NLSMC), MS. 7651, p.972.

were "unwilling to accept the ministrations of its licentiates".²⁴ In these circumstances, it is not surprising that he considered the possibility of foreign mission service.

Judging from MacGill's first letter to Ross on 2nd October 1868,²⁵ it is certain that Ross was thinking of foreign mission from the beginning of his service in the parish. It was also the time when, after MacGill changed his office from Home Mission Secretary to Foreign Mission Secretary in May 1868, the Foreign Mission Committee was requesting advanced students or young ministers to offer their services for Jamaica, Calabar, India, or the China mission. Ross may have been impressed by the address which MacGill delivered towards the close of the session of Theological Hall on 22nd September 1868.²⁶ Either India or China was, at first, suggested as a place of service by MacGill, but Ross seems to have been interested only in the China mission.²⁷

²⁴ PSUPC for 1870-73, p.375: In May 1870, the Synod authorized the Home Committee "to avail themselves of any favourable openings which may be presented for extending the Gaelic Missions of the Church". But it seems to have been just table-talk, because the U.P. Church, as being urban church, may have been too liberal for the strong calvinistic Highlands.

²⁵ NLSMC, MS. 7648, p.459ff.: Because no incoming letters to the U.P. Church have survived, there is some difficulty in reading Ross's mind. But there are number of MacGill's letters to Ross which make his intention clear.

²⁶ MRUPC for 1868, pp.181-183.: Dr.MacGill explained before the students the state of the mission field, and claimed the foreign missionary cause. He closes his address with the famous biblical phrase for mission addresses as well as his favourite one, "Here am I, send me"(Isa. 6:8). When the Foreign Mission Board appealed for ten foreign missionaries, to the students, preachers, and younger ministers of the U.P. Church, the Board repeated this phrase again with a tone of urgency regarding the foreign mission field (MRUPC for 1869, pp.413-417).

²⁷ Cf. NLSMC, MS. 7648, p.357.: There was no mention of India at all in the letters after 9th October 1868.

Ross had also contacted two medical students about the possibility of foreign mission and had placed their case before MacGill at the same time.

However, Ross seems to have taken great pains in deciding on his course of action for the next three years. The question of going out to China or remaining in the Highlands was still unsettled for him, as he wrote Dr. MacGill: "I would like to go to China, and I would like to remain in the Highlands".²⁸ After his service in Portree, he may have been sent to Stornoway on the Isle of Lewis by the Home Mission Committee. According to Webster, Ross wrote on the eve of leaving Skye, "Probably Stornoway will solve my difficulty regarding Home and Foreign work".²⁹ Webster says that Stornoway did eventually solve his difficulty. But no record has been found that Ross was in Stornoway in 1871, and it is probable therefore that he decided to go to China at the point that he was sent to Stornoway.³⁰

²⁸ The Record of the Home and Foreign Mission work of the United Free Church of Scotland (hereafter RHFM-UFC) for 1915, ✓ (James Webster, "The Maker of the Manchurian Mission: An Appreciation of the late Rev. John Ross, D.D.", pp.394-397), p.394: This obituary of John Ross is anonymous, but it was written by Webster, one of Ross's colleagues.

²⁹ RHFM-UFC for 1915, p.394.

³⁰ Ross was in Stornoway sometime between 20th May and 20th June 1870, as agent of the Home Mission Committee for the Gaelic mission. Grayson says that, before going to China, Ross served only three parishes, in Inverness, in Portree, and in Stornoway. (Grayson, JRKFM, p.23; LWJR, p.56) The following report on the Gaelic Missions for 1871 excludes the possibility that Ross worked at Stornoway:

"The station at Portree has been regularly supplied with preachers, among whom special reference may be made to Mr. John Ross, who, after various unsuccessful attempts to find a suitable opening for the commencement of a new station in the Highlands among the Gaelic-speaking population, accepted a location at Portree for some months, but has now offered himself to and been accepted by the Foreign Committee of the Mission Board as a

However, Ross long hesitated between the Chinese mission and the Gaelic ministry, as he loved the Highlands, and he seems to have felt himself to be "destined for ministering in the Gaelic language".³¹ According to MacGill's letter to Ross on 21st March 1870, someone in Inverness sought to keep Ross in contact with the Gaelic ministry. He must have been tempted on this occasion. MacGill advised Ross to leave his church and join the Free Church. He really meant that there was no Gaelic congregation in the U.P. Church for Ross to serve.

At this time the Foreign Mission Board needed someone who had linguistic ability as well as zeal for mission overseas. MacGill knew something of Ross's linguistic ability and general aptitude as well as his interest in the foreign missions.³² But he did not urge Ross to go to China, because Ross had not yet completed his entire theological course, and he had to let things take final shape in his own mind. Another reason would be that, as a rule, the U.P. Church wanted to concentrate mission forces at certain points rather than to diffuse them over many areas. Until 1869, therefore, the Church was centralizing its agencies in Caffreland (i.e. Eastern Cape), in Old Calabar, and

missionary to China"(MRUPC for 1872-73, p.227). But the above quotation also indicates that there is a possibility that Ross might have formed a congregation in the Highlands.

³¹ Cf. NLSMC, MS. 7648, p.459.

³² NLSC, MS 7648, p.357 : Grayson determines that Ross had a solid linguistic knowledge of at least 11 languages. These languages are Gaelic, English, German, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, written Chinese, spoken Mandarin Chinese, Manchu, and Korean.(Grayson, LWJR, p.63)

especially in India.³³ In January 1872, the Mission Board received an appeal for help with the mission work in China from A. Williamson.³⁴ If Ross began to consider the foreign mission by responding to the address of MacGill, he seems to have responded to the call of Williamson by submitting his application to the Foreign Mission Board. Yet he again wrote to MacGill of his doubts on the matter. The latter responded quickly, and encouraged him to have confidence in himself. He comforted Ross with a word, "your desire to kindle a mission spark or rather flame in Easter Ross is most natural and right".³⁵ Eventually, after he decided to go out to China, Ross was on trial for ordination in the presbytery of Elgin and Inverness and gave in trial exercises to the satisfaction of the presbytery on 13th February. He was appointed by the Foreign Mission Board to serve in China on 27th February, and his ordination took place at

³³ MRUPC for 1869, p.325 : The Mission Board might have had a financial problem over the China mission, for, until 1869, the Board only managed to raise the China mission fund to about £6,000 as Mr. Henderson of Park left £4,000 of a legacy for the China mission in 1868.(PSUPC for 1868, p.550)

✓³⁴ A. Williamson, "The Claims of China on the Attention of Christian Men", MRUPC for 1872, pp.17-29. As MacGill expresses it, this "remarkable statement" was also published in the form of a little treatise by William Oliphant & Co., Edinburgh; James Maclehose, Glasgow; Hamilton, Adams, & Co., and James Nisbet & Co., London. Ross may have seen the other account of China by Williamson, which was addressed to the London Times ("To the Editor of The Times", 2nd August 1871, MRUPC for 1871, pp.658-660). His full account of China was also published in 1870: Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia with some account of Corea, 2vols. Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1870.

³⁵ NLSMC,MS 7651, pp.972-3; As this letter was written on 2nd February 1872, when he was applying for the China mission and waiting for a reply of the Committee, he does not seem to have had confidence in his mind. Grayson interpreted this phrase in Korean, as if MacGill reminded Ross that it was better to be "a mission spark than a flame in Easter Ross" (JRKFM, p.23).

Chapelhill on 20th March in the presbytery of Elgin and Inverness.³⁶ The last thing which he did before going to China, was to get married to M.A. Stewart on 26th March.

2. His Missionary Life (1872-1915)

Although Ross would like to have remained in the Highlands, he loved his Church so much that he committed himself as a missionary to China rather than be transferred to the Free Church to engage in a Gaelic ministry. He and his wife left Scotland in ✓ April and arrived in Chefoo on 23rd August 1872. He henceforth devoted himself, as a founder of the Protestant mission in Manchuria, as translator of the first Korean New Testament, and as a writer on the China and Manchurian missions, for thirty-nine years until he retired in 1910.

³⁶ UPM for 1872, p.227: It was the day when the church newly erected by the congregation of Chapelhill had the first public worship in the first part of the day, led by the Rev. Dr. Finlayson, Edinburgh. For the ordination of Ross, the Rev. J. M. Erskine preached from Matt.8:11, and the Rev. John Whyte, Moyness, delivered an address to Ross, with reference to the duties of the office to which he had been set apart. Dr. Finlayson, Dr. MacGill, and the Rev. Adam Campbell, minister of the Free Church, Petty, took part with the members of presbytery in the act of ordination.

(1) The Manchuria Mission of the U.P. Church.

The Synod of the U.P. Church considered commencing a China mission in 1862,³⁷ and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland resolved to undertake a mission to China in 1867. It was the dawn of the Protestant mission in Manchuria. The U.P. Church sent out Dr. William Parker,[✓] medical missionary, to Ningpo in Chekiang province in 1862, but he died in an accident shortly after his arrival on 2nd February 1863.³⁸ Dr. John Parker, William's brother, went to Ningpo to carry on the same mission, and began his work on 1st April 1864. He appealed to the Foreign Mission Board to send an ordained evangelistic missionary without any loss of time. His continuing earnest appeals were not realized until Lewis Nicol,[✓] a Scottish catechist who had worked in China for several years, was appointed as an unordained evangelist for the Ningpo mission in March 1870. But it was the time when the Mission Committee was considering the removal of the centre of China mission from Ningpo to Chefoo, which was an

³⁷ The Free Church of Scotland Monthly (hereafter FCSM) records that it was when the U.P. Church "took over the agent of a society which had been dissolved". This agent was Dr. William Parker affiliated to the Scottish Auxiliary Society of the Evangelical Society of London. (Duncan M'Laren, "Gospel Triumphs in Manchuria", FCSM for 1900, pp.2-4): cf. M'Kerrow, John, History of the Foreign Mission of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church, Andrew Elliot, Edinburgh, 1867.

³⁸ William Parker, a native of Glasgow, was a medical missionary in connection with the Evangelical Society of London, and had been at work for five years in Ningpo when the London society was dissolved in 1861. The Synod of the U.P. Church agreed to undertake this mission, sent him out to China in 1862.[✓] He arrived in Ningpo in March. Although he had worked less than a year,[✓] he was the first Chinese missionary of the U.P. Church. (Cf. M'Laren, op.cit., p.2): According to the Missionary Record of U.P. Church for 1869, he died not in 1863, but in 1865.(p.325)

important seaport town situated on the promontory of the province of Shantung.³⁹

The Mission Committee had been anxiously looking for an ordained minister for the China mission. In 1870, they had at least a partial success in that they managed to secure the service of Alexander Williamson, who had been an agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland (NBSS) for seven years. At that time, he was residing in Chefoo, and therefore the centre of the China mission was removed to Chefoo. Williamson also appealed to the home Church for a young missionary to help him in evangelizing northern China. In April 1871, Dr. William A. Henderson arrived in Chefoo as a medical missionary, and on the following New Year's Day, the Rev. John MacIntyre⁴⁰ landed in Chefoo. As Lewis Nicol also joined in the Chefoo station at this time, and John Ross also arrived there on 23rd August 1872, the

³⁹ The Mission Board had three reasons for considering the removal of the mission centre: (1) A native church had not yet been formed in Ningpo; (2) A considerable number of missionaries connected with different denominations were labouring in that city; (3) The area of the dialect spoken there was more limited than that of some others spoken in northern China. (MRUPC for 1870, p.82)

⁴⁰ John MacIntyre was born into a family of ministers at Luss on 18th July 1837. His grandfather, the Rev. Hugh MacIntyre D.D., was a minister at Loanends and at Martha Kirker, Ireland. His father also was a minister of Largs in the U.P. Church, who was educated at Belfast Academy, Universities of Aberdeen and Glasgow, and the U.P. College. For some time, he was a mathematics master in Glasgow High School. He was ordained in the presbytery of Glasgow in 1864. John himself was educated at Paisley, the University of Heidelberg, and the U.P. College in Edinburgh. He was ordained in 1865 and worked at Baillieston of the U.P. Church, until he was appointed to Chefoo on 27th June 1871. In 1874, he was appointed to Manchuria and worked in Haicheng and Newchwang until he died at Peitaiho, North China, on 1st September 1905. In 1876 he married Catherine Ross who was a sister of John Ross. Ross brought her to take care of his baby after his first wife died on 31st March 1873.

U.P.Church can be said to have centralized its missionary forces in Chefoo.⁴¹

The first ordained Protestant missionary in Manchuria was the Rev. William C. Burns (1815-1868) of the Presbyterian Church of England, who had already been in China since 1847. He arrived at the Port of Yingk'ou(營口)⁴² from Tien-tsin on 6th October 1867, with the intention of evangelizing Manchuria, but his dream was ended by his death on 4th April 1868. As he exclaimed, on his death-bed, "God will carry on the good work; I have no fears for that!",⁴³ two missionaries, Dr. Joseph M. Hunter and the Rev. Hugh Waddell, from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland landed in Yingk'ou in 1868. Shortly after arriving in Chefoo, Ross decided to move to Manchuria and settled in Yingk'ou in October 1872, because he thought that Chefoo was being well cared for by Williamson and American missionaries.⁴⁴ James Webster, one of his

⁴¹ Ningpo station had been opened from 1862 till, and Chefoo station from 1870 till 1886. After closing stations, all of its missionaries were transferred to Manchuria.

⁴² At that time, the port of Yingk'ou was called Newchwang, which was a mailing address of missionaries. As actual mission station of the U.P. Church was located in Yingk'ou, all references to Newchwang should be read as Yingk'ou.

⁴³ Duncan M'Laren, The Story of Our Manchuria Mission, V Offices of United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh, 1896, p.9; "Gospel Triumphs in Manchuria", FCSM for 1900, p.2: For his life, Islay Burns, Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, MA: missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church, James Nisbet & Co., London, 1873. Especially, chapter 20 deals with his life in Newchwang, and contains a list of texts preached on at Newchwang.

⁴⁴ Williamson enumerates the reasons for opening the Newchwang (Yingk'ou) station as follows:

(1) There was no ordained minister to perform any religious service among the foreigners resident there. (2) No man to baptize converts among the heathen or organize a church on Protestant principles in the whole of north, south, or central Manchuria. (3) Mr. Ross appeared just the man for

missionary colleagues in Manchuria, describes him as follows :
 "He was not the man to be satisfied with a field already well occupied, especially when on the other side of a narrow sea there lay the great land of Manchuria, with twenty millions of people and only one missionary".⁴⁵ It may sound strange that the Mission Board sanctioned Ross to move to Manchuria, because, as a rule, the Board was trying to centralize its forces at certain points rather than to diffuse them over many.⁴⁶ Mrs. Christie expresses the view that "the remarkably open-minded Mission Board at home" sanctioned his new move. But Williamson and the Mission Board may have been interested in establishing a line of mission stations in northern China, with Chefoo as the centre, and they may have seen Manchuria as a land practically untouched by mission effort; at that time there was only one medical missionary, Dr. Hunter, ✓ of the Irish Presbyterian Church, in Manchuria. Expanding their mission into a new world and wanting to pioneer was typical of John Ross and of the U.P. Church. It is obvious that he, as the

the post -- a married man of very considerable purpose and judgment. (4) Chefoo is now well provided with missionaries, as far as regards itself and the immediate neighbourhood. (5) The river communication closes about the middle of November, so that, if Mr. and Mrs. Ross did not go at once, they would have to wait till April next year, and thus lose eight months, in which they might get well on in the knowledge of the dialect and people and place. (6) Even though the Irish Board determined to send out more men, and hold on, there was more than room for us. (7) Mr. Ross can afterwards return to Chefoo if that appear desirable; the expense is not great. (MRUPC for 1873, p.571)

⁴⁵ Webster, "op.cit.", RHFU-UPC for 1915, p.394. According to Mrs. Dugald Christie, Ross was told by Dr. Williamson of the great untouched land of Manchuria. ("Pioneers : The Rev. John Ross, Manchuria", Life & Work, The Record of the Church of Scotland, 1934, p.76)

⁴⁶ MRUPC for 1869, p.325.

only ordained missionary in Manchuria, dreamt of evangelizing the whole country of Manchuria.

(2) The Founder of the Protestant Mission in Manchuria

Ross landed on the muddy shores of Yingk'ou in October 1872. At that time, his situation seemed drab, like the monotonous mud-colour of his new environment, Yingk'ou. MacGill ✓ explains Ross's first year to a meeting of the students of the U.P. College as follows:

I point to another of your fellow-students, whose very situation is an impressive argument and appeal. I refer to Mr. John Ross, smitten, solitary, bereaved, yet, like his high-spirited friend Mr. MacIntyre, ✓ resolute and unwavering in his choice. His position, in one aspect, is profoundly painful, as he is only one among so many; and this constitutes its appeal to us, the Mission Board, and to you, the candidates of our missionary, as well as of our pastoral ministry. In another aspect, Mr. Ross's position is truly awful and sublime. --- Mr. Ross has sat down sorrowful, but not hopeless, amidst a population exceeding that of these three kingdoms --- himself the only ordained missionary among all these millions. ⁴⁷

When he discovered that there was no baptized Protestant in Manchuria, and that the Chinese were so hostile to foreigners that he could not get a place to stay, his position as the only ordained missionary among forty million people must have seemed like being in complete darkness. But Ross was not depressed by the first impressions of Yingk'ou at all, and made his intention clear as follows:

⁴⁷ This was the address which Dr. MacGill delivered to the students of the Divinity Hall on 28th August 1873. (MRUPC for 1873, pp.625f.)

The Chinese inhabitants of Manchuria believed at that time (in the year 1872) that Jesus was the King of foreigndom, that his armies having been driven out of Peking, He being a wise King endeavoured to create a foreign faction in China by sending men out there to steal the hearts of the Chinese. This was my mission. I was sent there. I was sent there to steal the hearts of the Chinese. ⁴⁸

His determination to evangelize Manchuria was so firm that nothing could move him from his position. For instance, after his wife gave birth to a son, she was attacked by the severe cold and did not recover from her serious illness. At this time, Ross expresses his feeling:

I shall be deeply grieved if Mrs. Ross must go, and I believe I shall feel far worse than if I had never married; but though the worst come to the worst, I have not now the shadow of a thought of retreating from this position without more serious reasons for it than either comfort or pleasure. ⁴⁹

In order to steal the hearts of Chinese, Ross began to learn the language, and, surprisingly enough, he was able to preach his first Chinese sermon of about twenty minutes' length on 12th May 1873, which was listened to "with the profoundest attention and seeming wonder".⁵⁰ As Webster observes, he may have been a born linguist. At that time he wrote that he was confident that in a few months more he should be fluent enough in Chinese to

✓⁴⁸ This was a part of his speech in the discussion of the Edinburgh Conference 1910. The subject was on "Is it advisable to have a large native agency for evangelistic work among non-Christians dependent upon foreign support?" (World Missionary Conference 1910, Report of Commission I : Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1910. p.429.)

⁴⁹ MRUPC for 1873, p.606: Two weeks after he wrote this report, his wife died, on 31st March. He married Isabella Strapp Macfadyen in Glasgow, on his first furlough, on 24th February 1881.

⁵⁰ MRUPC for 1873, p.624.

preach.⁵¹ According to his report written on 29th July 1873, he preached every Sunday to an audience of from 40 to 100, and expressed his feeling as follows; "How anxious I am to see the beginning of those days when the desert shall blossom as the rose in this wild spiritual wilderness!"⁵² The beginning of those days was soon realized when he baptized three men in 1873.⁵³

In March 1873, Ross reported that his congregation was larger than his old Portree congregation. He obviously means the average attendance at worship. Although he does not give the attendance, it must have been over one hundred. It is surprising that he had such a result after only a few months' work. In May 1873, therefore, he appealed to the Mission Board to send out a companion missionary. As a result of his appeal, in 1875, Ross ✓ handed over to MacIntyre the responsibility for Yingkou station, and moved on to Moukden,⁵⁴ the capital of Manchuria.

⁵¹ MRUPC for 1873, p.606: He felt that he would have been preaching by March 1873, if his wife had not been taken seriously ill. But John MacIntyre, who arrived in Chefoo on 1st January 1872, could not preach as yet. Even in the letter written on 1st September 1873, he said that he was not yet qualified as a pastor and an evangelist on the score of language. MacIntyre described himself only as a Bible colporteur. (MRUPC for 1874, p.13) When we compare these two, we can be sure that Ross was truly a born linguist. According to MacIntyre's letter written on 6th December 1873, both of them were successfully overcoming the difficulties of the language. (MRUPC for 1874, p.59)

⁵² MRUPC for 1873, p.671.

⁵³ One of them was "Wang Jingmin" who was an opium smoker before his conversion. Ross trained him for as a native evangelist, and he devoted himself as the first native preacher and elder in Manchuria, until he died on 24th September 1885. Ross called him "the virtual founder of Protestant Christianity" in Manchuria. For his life and work, see: John Ross, Old Wang—The First Chinese Evangelist in Manchuria, The Religious Tract Society, London, 1889.

⁵⁴ The present name of Moukden is Shenyang(瀋陽).

Ross always thought that Moukden should be the headquarters of the mission for the whole people of Manchuria. By the time he completed his thirty-nine years' missionary service in Manchuria, he had contributed much to the evangelism of the people of Manchuria as well as Korea.

When he died in Edinburgh on 6th August 1915, the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland recorded that Ross, the founder of the Manchuria Mission, along with his colleagues, "built up a great mission, which now includes 3 colleges, 2 hospitals, 7 congregations, 18 outstations, and a Christian community of 4242 souls".⁵⁵ Although this record of achievements was listed with the intention of honouring the recently deceased missionary, it is clear that these things could not have been achieved without the assistance of others. Perhaps, rather than listing what are ultimately corporate achievements, it is important to ascertain why Ross is regarded as the founder of the Manchurian mission. It is necessary to look at him as a man of patience, as itinerant, initiator, instructor, and writer, apart from his Korean work which will be examined in the next section and the following chapter.⁵⁶

✓⁵⁵ Minutes of Foreign Mission Board of the United Free Church of Scotland (hereafter MFMB-UFC) for 1915, p.568.

⁵⁶ Grayson, in his *John Ross: Korea's First Missionary*, describes his life according to chronological order as follows: period of the formation of his thought (1842-1872); period of the early missionary effort (1872-1881); period of the establishment of the Manchurian Church (1881-1890); period of the bringing about the spiritual ingathering in the church (1890-1900); period of the later missionary work (1900-1915). This gives a simple framework for the narrative of certain events in which Ross was involved.

(a) Personally, Ross must have faced great pain through the deaths of his first wife in 1873, and of his four infants, Hugh in 1881, Findlay in 1884, John in 1888, and Catherine in 1889.⁵⁷ It means that, although death in infancy may have been considered as a common happening at that time, the first half of his service must have been a period of deep grief. Nevertheless, he devoted himself greatly to the Manchuria mission during this period, and achieved his ambition to found the Protestant Church in Manchuria. His patience and forbearance were reflected in his early years of mission work, when Chinese people were most hostile towards foreigners. The following quotation gives a brief summary of his personality.

We (Christie and Webster) saw his manner of life among the people from day to day -- his regular systematic preaching to the heathen, and his equally regular and systematic teaching of the converts; his wonderful patience and forbearance with the unruly crowds, his unfailing courtesy and tact. And those early impressions remained to the end. I have been with him every day and night for many weeks on end, in circumstances of the most trying description, and I never once saw him lose his self-control.⁵⁸

Without his wonderfully forbearing character, he could not have succeeded penetrating into the Chinese society of that time. In this sense, his character was one of the factors which enabled

⁵⁷ Ross married Isabella S. Macfadyen on 24th February 1881 in Glasgow. His remaining children were Drummond born in 1873, Margaret Pritty in 1884, John Herbert in 1891, Findlay MacFadyen in 1896, Elizabeth Isabel in 1902. Drummond is known to have settled in South Africa and to have worked at Worcester Highschool as deputy headmaster. John Herbert, after graduating from New College, Edinburgh in 1913, worked as a minister of the United Free Church at Laurieston Church in Falkirk, and Renwick in Glasgow. Elizabeth married Robert Ritchie Watt who also was a minister of the United Free Church, was appointed as a missionary to Gold Coast in 1929. Findlay died in the first World War on 1st August 1918 in France.

⁵⁸ RHEM-UFC for 1915, p.10.

him introduce the gospel into Manchuria, with his peculiar mission methods which will be examined in chapter six.

(b) It is difficult to calculate how much of his time Ross spent in itineracy. But, according to his reports, one of his major mission activities was a great deal of travelling, starting from the first missionary journey on which he set out on 13th May 1873. It was specially important to travel around, because, for him, the country was virtually unknown. His early journeys were "to discover the main roads and their arteries, to learn the comparative density of the population, to ascertain the size of the cities, their relative importance, their value as future stations or centres, and their respective distances apart".⁵⁹ In a word, through a number of journeys, he tried to find out the strategic place for the evangelization of northeast Asia including Korea. Consequently, he chose Moukden as the place for the headquarters of the Manchuria mission in 1875. His later journeys were "to encourage, stimulate, instruct, and direct" the Chinese evangelists, "to examine" the catechumens, and "to baptize" them, in various out-stations. Ross believed that this form of itineracy was "the only practical way and beyond comparison the most speedy way, in which the gospel can be proclaimed all over China".⁶⁰ In order to oversee a large circuit of many hundred square miles, and with a population of tens of millions with one or two missionaries, Ross not only travelled

⁵⁹ J. Ross, *Mission Methods in Manchuria* (hereafter MMM), Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1903, p.32.

⁶⁰ Ross, MMM, p.42.

round his mission field, but he travelled the circuit of his out-stations several times a year. No one in Manchuria did as much travelling as Ross. Therefore, his early life can be defined as itinerant. His early travels, before his first furlough in 1879, were undertaken in order to get to know people and the land, and those after 1881 were made in order to instruct the Chinese evangelists and the catechumens. It should be mentioned here that he also made use of his journeys for active colportage, giving away tracts and selling books.⁶¹

(c) From the time Ross settled in Yingk'ou in 1872, he tried to initiate permanent missionary work in Manchuria. He saw a good possibility of evangelizing the Manchurian people, and began to appeal to the home Church to send additional missionaries. Through his appeal, John MacIntyre was transferred ✓ from Chefoo to Yingk'ou in 1875, and five additional missionaries were sent to China in 1882.⁶² This was a consequence of his continuous appeal to the Mission Board to concentrate mission forces in Manchuria rather than in Shantung province. During this period, there was a dispute between Alexander Williamson and John Ross regarding the future of the China mission of the U.P. Church. This dispute occurred when the Mission Board was considering the concentration of mission forces

✓⁶¹ He became one of agents of the National Bible Society of Scotland in April 1876, and entered into relations with the British & Foreign Bible Society after 1882.

✓⁶² These missionaries were the Rev. James Webster, Dr. Christie for Manchuria, the Rev. Alexander Westwater and Dr. A.M. Westwater for Chefoo, and Miss Pritty for the Zenana Mission in Manchuria. But, in 1886, the Rev. Westwater and Dr. Westwater were transferred to Manchuria.

in one place. In May 1880, Williamson submitted to the Committee a statement of his view regarding the necessities for concentrating the China mission at Chefoo, and at the same time, Ross also presented his statement of the encouraging prospects of the mission work in Manchuria.⁶³ Both, giving information on the geographical and social nature of each of their mission fields, emphasized the hopeful aspects of their respective areas. In particular, Ross saw that Manchuria was more scantily provided with mission agents than any other province in China. Because of the fact that Manchuria had four agents, including Irish missionaries, as against twelve in Shantung, Williamson seemed to argue that it would be reasonable rather to concentrate in Shantung, which had a population double that of Manchuria. Williamson sees the extent of the mission field in North China including the province of Shantung, while Ross was considering it to include Korea as well as the whole land of Manchuria.⁶⁴

⁶³ Ross argued the importance of Manchuria on the grounds which he listed under eleven headings, while Williamson was claiming that Shantung transcended Manchuria in importance, and set his views out in six points. For summary of their claims, see Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee of the U.P. Church (hereafter MFMC-UPC) for 1880-1881, nos.1858 & 1860.

⁶⁴ Ross made his intention of undertaking a Korean mission clear in his statement in 1880 as follows. "A most important route which should be taken possession of by two able labourers, is the road eastwards, leading through four walled cities, and scores of villages, to Corea; which country we can now, in the good providence of God, approach in this way." (MFMC-UPC for 1880-1, no.1857) From this statement, we can see that Ross thought of the Korean mission as an extension of the Manchuria mission. According to the Minutes of a Conference of Manchuria Missionaries, dated 7th February 1883, other missionaries in Manchuria were also considering the possible extension of the mission towards Korea. (ibid for 1883-4, no.3446) Williamson also mentioned a possible way of contact for Korea, but, as he only thought of sea route, for him, Korean mission should be a new field separating from the China mission. He said, "Chefoo is the proper point of contact for Korea, and when that country is

Although the Mission Board was not in a position at that time to extend their mission into Korea, Ross was able to convince them that Manchuria would be a more promising field than Shantung.⁶⁵ In 1885, the decision of the Board was made on the ground that there were no other missionary societies, apart from one medical missionary of the Irish Presbyterian Church, in Manchuria. In this sense, Ross was the initiator of the Protestant Mission in Manchuria, the first ordained missionary for the real evangelistic work, and the one who laid a firm foundation on which the Mission Board concentrated their mission in Manchuria.

Another remarkable initiative of Ross was to explore the possibility of union with the Irish Presbyterian Church, so as to create one Chinese Church in Manchuria. From the beginning of his missionary life in Yingk'ou, Ross had to resolve the problem of coexistence with the Irish mission in Yingk'ou. According to his letter on 7th December 1874, regarding the question of the division of the mission field with the Irish mission, Ross was "willing to act on the principle of Abraham towards Lot", and his readiness to go to the right hand, if the Irish went to the left, or to go to the left if they preferred going to the right, was

opened, the route will be Shanghai, Korea, Chefoo, Tientsin, and Peking, and vice versa; and the present roundabout road, occasioned by the force of present circumstances, will be entirely given up."(ibid for 1880-1, no.1860)

⁶⁵ Especially, when the China Inland Mission resolved to make Chefoo their headquarters, the Mission Board of the U.P. Church decided that their work in China should be concentrated in Manchuria. They thought that this decision was practicable because their missionaries were almost the only labourers in the field. (MFM-UPC for 1882-3, no.3380; for 1883-4, no.3396; for 1884-5, no.4328)

immediately approved by the Committee.⁶⁶ From that time, Ross seems to have been interested in the church union between the Irish Presbyterians and the United Presbyterians. James Webster witnesses to the union of two churches as follows;

I remember when a quarter of a century ago⁶⁷ the missionaries of the two Churches met for the first time in conference to negotiate some workable division of the field, and our conference seemed to promise little result, Mr. Ross exclaimed: "The best solution of the difficulty would be the union of the Churches!" It seemed Utopian to some at the time, but in less than two years the problem of the division of the field was solved by the formation of one united Church. No one rejoiced more than he did when the Union was accomplished, and when the Chinese themselves, pastors and elders, began to take a larger share in the direction and control of their own Church.⁶⁸

According to the report of the Conference in 1887, the Manchuria Committee, and certainly other missionaries of the U.P. Church, deprecated the step by which the Irish mission planned to enter Moukden. The Manchuria Committee suggested the three possible options: (1) absolute union of the two Missions in Manchuria, which was declined by the Irish missionaries; (2) absolute demarcation between the fields of work, and a united Conference; (3) the relations between the two Missions continuing as they had been hitherto. However, the committee left this matter in the hands of the Board and of Ross, who was about to return home on his second furlough.

⁶⁶ MFMC-UPC for 1873-7, no.235. The Committee also authorized Ross to take a small house for a chapel in Moukden, if the Irish did not intend occupying Moukden, on 23th February 1875.

⁶⁷ It must be the Conference of the Manchuria Committee and the Missionaries of the Irish Presbyterian Church, held at Moukden, on 7th November 1887. For the report of this Conference, see MFMC-UPC for 1887-8, no.6314.

⁶⁸ RHEM-UFC for 1915, pp.396f.

The Board also agreed with the Manchuria Committee and, after having a conference with the Rev. W. Park, Convenor of the Foreign Mission Board of the Irish Presbyterian Church, postponed the final arrangement till Ross arrived from Manchuria.⁶⁹ In 1888, John Ross and the Rev. J. Buchanan, Foreign Mission Secretary of the U.P. Church, had a number of conferences with the Rev. Park and the Rev. W.W. Shaw, one of the Manchuria missionaries of the Irish Church, with regard to the union of the two Missions. Through his continuous efforts to negotiate for the union, the U.P. Synod and the Irish Presbyterian Assembly gave their approval, and the missionaries of the two missions met in conference at Moukden on the 23th-29th May 1891. In this conference, they formed the Presbytery of Manchuria, of which ✓ John MacIntyre was elected the first moderator, and the Rev. Thomas Fulton the permanent English Clerk of the Presbytery. Eventually, this union resulted in the one Chinese Church in Manchuria, and thus laid the real foundation of the Manchurian Church.

Long before the Chinese Christians were formed into the one Chinese Church, they realized the great contribution of John Ross and his Mission, and sent Scotland a Chinese epistle (accompanied by a translation into English) in 1888.

Third Moon of the year of our Lord's Advent, 1888.
Respectfully presented by the Presbyterian Church of Manchuria of the right religion of Jesus to the Presbyterian mother Church of Scotland, to set forth the praise of the Lord. --- Truth is not selfishly private. Through the close investigation of ancient times, we find that the proclamation of the doctrine of heaven was not unknown in Flowery China. We acknowledge the value of the Six Classics and Four Books; but how

⁶⁹ MFMC-UPC for 1887-8, no.6352.

could Confucius and Mencius repair the ruins of man's heart? Happily Heaven has not forsaken the Flowery Nation, though the Lord of Salvation was born in Judea, and at length the doctrine, able to make all under heaven one family, has entered the Central Flowery Land.⁷⁰

The minutes of Foreign Mission Committee records that, "in this epistle the Church in Manchuria speak of the great blessings which have been brought to their land by the introduction of the gospel, and particularly by the labours of "Pastor Ross", and convey their thanks to the Mother Church in Scotland for having sent him and others to proclaim among them the True Religion".⁷¹ Mrs. M'Laren talked not just about the simple labours of Ross, but of his self-sacrificing quality of his labours, and continued to quote from the Chinese epistle the description of conditions before and after Ross's arriving in Manchuria.⁷² Ross was always of the opinion that the evangelistic work should be done "by the natives for the natives", and dreamt of an indigenous Church governed by Chinese. Until realizing his dream, he put his

⁷⁰ Mrs. Duncan M'Laren, *The Story of our Manchuria Mission*, pp.113f.

⁷¹ MFMC-UPC for 1888-9, no.6672.

⁷² M'Laren, *op.cit.* p.114: "At that time Manchuria had not yet heard the name of Jesus. Men esteemed only reputation as profit. They paid attention to robes and hats; they did not seek to crystal-clear their hearts. Now all is changed: there are about a thousand who have been baptized. The revilers of the truth are day by day decreasing; those embracing the truth are day by day increasing. The congregation has the appearance of daily-growing prosperity; the converts exhibit a daily enlarging zeal. Finally, many have turned their backs on their old dispositions. The rigorous and fierce are become gentle; the proud and conceited are become humble; the deceitful and lying have learned truthfulness. Other qualities retained have been modified. The vulgar and rude have become sincere; the crafty and cunning have become wise and discerning; the grasping have become unyieldingly strict. Whether originally wise or stupid, virtuous or otherwise, all have to a larger or lesser extent become new."

labours into getting Chinese to work by themselves. In order to get them ready to proclaim the gospel, his remaining function would be but to instruct and train them.

(d) His career, as instructor, began with establishing a school, and engaging a Chinese teacher in Yingk'ou in 1873.⁷³ The main body of instruction in this school was the Chinese Classics. This secular education removed a good deal of active hostility toward the foreigner as well as the missionary, and therefore, Ross gained a few friends. His purpose might be "to catch" the people "by guile".⁷⁴ In other words, his primary aim in providing such means of education was to make all the children able to read the Scriptures in their own language.⁷⁵ Therefore, he insisted that "the missionary should devote a good deal of thought and time to the development of the dormant intellect by elementary education".⁷⁶ When he began missionary work in Moukden, where the general attitude toward foreigners was much more conservative and hostile than that found in Yingk'ou, his strong determination again resulted in the opening of a school in Moukden and the engaging of a Chinese teacher in 1875. As the only texts read in this school also were the Confucian books, the

⁷³ There is no report found of his establishing a school in Newchwang in 1873. But Ross mentioned that, in his *Mission Methods in Manchuria* (p.147), he engaged a Chinese teacher in 1873, and, in the *United Presbyterian Missionary Record* (for 1874, pp.243-5), he gave an account of a native schoolmaster in his school.

⁷⁴ 2 Cor. 12:16; cf. *MMM*, p.145.

⁷⁵ *MMM*, p.155.

⁷⁶ *MMM*, p.144.

school was easily accepted by Confucians, and, eventually, witnessed "the compatibility of Christian belief with Confucian teaching".⁷⁷ Ross was assured that this form of education should be "a gradual evolutionary growth of the Christian leaven, and the intelligent realization, under gentle guidance, by the native Church of a greater need for higher learning and further knowledge".⁷⁸ Ross seems to have been an initiator of elementary education in Manchuria rather than an educator, in the sense that he did not actually teach the children. But, in the long term, he was looking for able Chinese in order to put them into higher education for the Church.

According to the report on the Mission in the Moukden station for 1885,⁷⁹ Ross baptized 104 members in Moukden and Liaoyang. With the exception of two women, they had all been converted by means of Chinese preachers. Not only because of this result, but also because of his conviction that evangelization should be carried out by native agency, the

⁷⁷ MMM, p.155. The reason for using only the Chinese books in the school was to "prevent any needless separation between Christians and non-Christians, although, being a Christian school, it opened and closed with prayer, and had a daily Bible lesson(p.156).

⁷⁸ MMM, p.156: Ross also was the person who made the first mission for women possible in Manchuria, and he began a boarding-school for girls in 1882. As soon as Miss Pritty, the first Zenana missionary, arrived in Moukden in 1882, she began the girls school and worked there until 1886. After that, the school was continued by Mrs. Ross and Mrs. Webster.(cf. M'Laren, op.cit. p.71) In order to solve the problem of visits from house to house for women, Ross also organized a class for the Bible instruction of women and built a small chapel for women, and principally taught classes for the Christian women in Moukden. In 1892, a similar training home for Bible-women was also opened by Ross in Liaoyang.

⁷⁹ MRUPC for 1886, p.219; MFMC-UPC for 1885-6, Appendix p.54.

employment and training of natives was a matter concerning which Ross always asked for the sanction of the Mission Board. Although he does not seem to have had the sanction of the Mission Board to establish a Theological Class, he opened one during 1883 for the training of Chinese evangelists in Moukden.⁸⁰ This class was only a temporary means of training Chinese evangelists. He wished for a theological hall for "a uniform and constant course of instruction", combined with "an annual examination of preachers and others willing to submit themselves for trial".⁸¹ In July 1886, ten Chinese evangelists were examined by the Manchurian Committee, and it was reported that the results were regarded as highly satisfactory. After 1887, a class was formed and started a three years' course of training, and in 1890, it was extended to a four years' course of study.⁸²

After the union with the Irish Mission, a duration of eight years was decided on for this class, under the new Theological

⁸⁰ Report on the Foreign Mission of the U.P. Church for the year 1884 records that Ross "established a class last year for the preachers". (MFMC-UPC for 1884-5, appendix, p.51) Thus this class might have been open during 1883. But M'Laren seems to have recalled that it happened during 1885. (op.cit., p.46.) Judging from the fact that no record of the theological class had been found in the Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee nor in the Missionary Record, it is almost certain that Ross did not ask for sanction and began the class on his own decision.

⁸¹ MFMC-UPC for 1887-8, appendix p.48.

⁸² MFMC-UPC for 1889-90, no.7661: The subjects of study were to be four each year, a book of the Old Testament, two books of the New Testament (usually a Gospel and an Epistle), and Church History. At the end of 1889, there were forty-one candidates who presented themselves at the examination. Their subjects were Genesis, Exodus, John, and Acts. At that time, the Eastern Committee at home requested to add Systematic Theology to the subject of study.

Training Scheme of 1894.⁸³ Under the Scheme, all the students had to spend at least one month of each year in intensive study at the most convenient centre or centres where foreign missionaries were resident. But it was arranged that the Junior class should meet in Moukden in spring, and that the Seniors should attend an autumn class. The instructors of the first classes, which had met four hours a day from 6th April to 4th May 1894 in Moukden, were Ross, Webster, Wylie, and Inglis.⁸⁴ They determined to give instruction in some aspects of Confucianism, as well as Bible study and theology. Mrs. M'Laren explains that the lectures, "comparing Confucian morality with Christianity, excited much interest".⁸⁵ Ross regarded this new theological class as "an interesting departure" in the Manchurian mission.⁸⁶

As we have seen, the second half of his missionary life was fully occupied with instructing the Chinese agents as well as superintending the newly arrived missionaries.⁸⁷ In particular, when the Theological College was established in Moukden by the united conference of the two churches in 1898, Ross and the Rev. T.C. Fulton of the Irish Church were elected as professors, and

⁸³ For the scheme of Training for Native Agents, see MFMC-UPC for 1894-5, no.773. The classes were divided into two groups --- Junior and Senior Classes for four years' duration each classes.

⁸⁴ At the close of this class, sixty-nine men received certificates. (MFMC-UPC for 1894-5, no.775)

⁸⁵ M'Laren, *op.cit.*, p.83.

⁸⁶ MFMC-UPC for 1894-5, appendix, p.65.

⁸⁷ Judging from the report which he examined the new missionaries on the certain subjects, it was obvious that he, as a senior missionary, was in charge of instructing them for at least three years. (cf. MFMC-UPC for 1894-5, no.773)

Ross acted as President. As the period of study at the College was six months each year from 15th October till 15th April, he could not do other missionary work. The Rev. J. M. Graham, Secretary of the Manchuria Committee at that time, explains the situation as follows:

Dr. Ross's time being thus almost wholly occupied with teaching, they [other missionaries] cannot reckon on him for the ordinary work of the station as hitherto; it is of the most urgent importance that the scheme for the training of native pastors be entered upon at once, and with enthusiasm, if they are to gather up the rich spiritual harvesting of the past three years.⁸⁸

Along with teaching the theological students for six months and the evangelists for one month, he also taught the class for the Bible-women for one month each year. He continued carrying on the work of teaching Chinese agents until he resigned his post owing to ill health in 1910. It was a very appropriate job for a mature and experienced missionary such as Ross. He may have thought of the teaching task as his last act of devotion to the Manchurian Church. When he was at home in 1908, owing to his ill health, he asked the Mission Committee "to sanction his going out in time to resume the Senior Theological Class in November", with the proposal to pay his own travelling expenses to and from Manchuria.⁸⁹ Such was his enthusiasm for teaching the future evangelists and leaders of the Church and thus raising an independent Church in Manchuria. Ross had no doubt that the step

⁸⁸ MFMC-UPC for 1898-9, no.3132. When the U. P. Church merged into the United Free Church in 1900, the College also took a new shape of the Union Mission College in 1903. At this time, Ross was again appointed as professor. As an Arts College was also founded in Moukden in 1902, Ross had to lend his aid to that College.

⁸⁹ MFMC-UFC for 1908-12, no.1141.

taken to establish the independent Church in Manchuria was "the inauguration of a period of greater activity and greater self-reliance on the part of the native Church".⁸⁰ Thus, he was the great instructor, who not only taught Chinese people, but also encouraged them to establish their own Church.

(e) Ross can also be seen as a constant writer who wrote a number of articles and books. During the first period of his missionary career until 1882, all his works can be defined as preliminary work. The books in this period were the results of his effort to learn about the people and their languages in order to carry out his task in the new world. They were *Mandarin Primer* in 1876, *Corean Primer* in 1877, *Chinese Foreign Policy* in 1877, *History of Corea* in 1879, *The Manchus: the Reigning Dynasty of China* in 1880, and *Korean Speech with Grammar and Vocabulary* in 1882.

Ross was not the kind of missionary who tried simply to plant his church upon a new field, but a person who attempted first to learn and understand the people and their culture before taking any step in his work. Without his preliminary work of getting to understand and enter into the culture, he could not succeed in his missionary work, and, in this sense, his early works were the very key to opening the door to Manchuria and Korea. In spite of some mistakes and inaccuracies in both *Primers*, and his one-sided view of Manchurian and Korean

⁸⁰ MFMC-UPC for 1896-7, no.2329.

history,⁸¹ they were also of importance, as being the first English books to introduce Korea and Manchuria and their languages to the West.⁸² Ross was granted his doctorate by Glasgow University in 1894 in recognition of his two major works on Manchuria and Korea.

During the second period of his missionary life up to 1900, he managed only to write a biography of Old Wang, the First Chinese Evangelist in Manchuria in 1889, besides the Korean New Testament which, after publishing a copy of St. Luke in 1882, was completed in 1887. He seems, on the one hand, to have devoted himself to the translation and publication of the Korean New Testament, and on the other hand, to have spent his time on the establishment of the Manchurian Church. But in this period he gave addresses about his "mission work in Manchuria and Korea" in many places and presented a number of articles in various journals. These addresses and articles would have been a kind of draft for his later mature works.

For instance, he spoke on "Mission Work in China" on 5th May 1880, and "The Special Need of the China Mission Field" on 8th May 1889 at the Synod Meeting of the U. P. Church.⁸³ Besides

⁸¹ One of problems in his History of Corea is that he relied almost entirely on Chinese sources which he could easily collect in Manchuria. In his two books, it is a notable thing that he tried to understand the history of northeast Asia as a single unit in a cultural aspect. But too much emphasis seems to have been put on this view.

⁸² His works on Korean were pioneering studies in that field. His work on Manchuria must be one of the earliest studies in book form. His *The Manchus* had a long and appreciative review in the *The Spectator*. (cf. MRUPC for 1880, p.334)

⁸³ Another interesting example is that, on his first furlough, he visited a great number of congregations and places, and gave at least 102 addresses between June 1879 and June 1880

similar reports and articles in the United Presbyterian Missionary Record, (there are too many to mention them here), the following articles in The Missionary Review of the World are important to see his theological thoughts: "The Chinese Missionary Problem" in 1890, "Paul the Missionary", and "How the Gospel Spreads in China" in 1891.[✓] The other important articles are his addresses to the London Missionary Conference in 1888,⁹ and in the Missionary Conference at Shanghai in 1890.⁹⁴ In the London Conference, the tone of his speech on "polygamy" and "ancestral worship" was new and unusual. On both questions, he appealed for a need to re-examine all religious systems. In the Shanghai Conference, he presented an essay, "the Manchus", and also spoke of his new understanding of ancestral worship. Although he did not write much in this period, the above articles and addresses are enough to show the development of his missionary thought. The other important work in this period, was the creation of the Chinese Bible Commentary. This work began in the summer of 1897.⁹⁵ As one of the Bible Commentary Committee, he wrote the commentaries on Job, Isaiah, Matthew, James, and

alone. (MFMC-UPC for 1880-1, no.1808) The contents of addresses must have been mainly the report on the Manchurian mission and the Korean work, and an appeal for the support of both mission works.

[✓]⁹⁴ For the London Conference, see Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, held in London, 1888, 2vols., James Nisbet & Co., London, 1888. For the Shanghai Conference, see Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held in Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890, American Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai, 1890.

⁹⁵ For the work of the Chinese Commentary, he attended the meetings in Shanghai of the committee preparing a complete commentary on the New Testament for two months in the early summer of 1897. (MFMC-UPC for 1897-8, appendix, p.52)

some other epistles. This means that he received much recognition of his academic ability from the other missionaries throughout the China mission fields.

The World Missionary Conference of 1910 in Edinburgh may have been the last occasion in which Ross participated as an active missionary. He was one of the correspondents on ✓ Commission I, "Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World". In spite of his ill-health,⁹⁶ he produced a number of important works on China. These are *The Boxers in Manchuria* in 1901, *Mission Methods in Manchuria* in 1903, and *The Original Religion of China*⁹⁷ in 1909. After his resignation in July, 1910, he served as an elder of Mayfield Church in Edinburgh until he died on 6th August 1915. But he did not finish his work as a writer, and, when he died, left behind his final draft on China.⁹⁸ It is *The Origin of the Chinese People* which was

⁹⁶ The state of his health seems to have prevented him continuing his work. At the beginning of 1910, Ross asked the Manchuria Mission Council to appoint his successor in the Theological Hall. (MFMC-UFC for 1910, no.1639) On 1st July, he submitted to the Foreign Mission Committee his resignation with medical certificate. (no.1763)

⁹⁷ In a narrow sense, this is a study of Confucianism. As Ross traces back its origin from the primal period of China. In a broad sense, this is a study of the development of Chinese religion within Confucian setting. He also introduces the contemporary form of ritual in Manchuria, and seems to have attempted a comprehensive understanding of "the Original Religion of China", not just Confucianism. (It was published by Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh & London.)

⁹⁸ According to a letter to one of his daughters, Peggie, dated on 15th July 1914, he tried to find a major publisher to take up his work. He also had an interview with Professor Sayce in Oxford, with regard to the publication of his work. (Manuscript Collection of Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, New College, the University of Edinburgh)

published in 1916. These works would be enough to recognize him as writer, who seems to have attempted to see another dimension of the Chinese and their religion from the Manchurian perspective.

3. His initial contact with Koreans

(1) The motive of his concern with Korea

John Ross's contact with Korea started with his first visit to the so-called "Corean Gate", after a journey of seven days eastward from Yingk'ou in October 1874.⁸⁹ The Corean Gate, properly called Funghwang (or Kaoli-mên), was the centre of Sino-Korean trade, located on the border between China and Korea. Four markets were held during the year, the autumn one being the biggest and the most important. At that time, it was the only place where a Korean could make contact with the outside world,

⁸⁹ It was believed that Ross made his first visit to the Korean Gate in the autumn of 1873, until Grayson published his *John Ross: Korea's First Missionary*, in 1982. This misunderstanding was caused by Ross's two articles "The Corean Version of the New Testament: How I came to make it"-hereafter CVNT (UPM for 1883, pp.166-169, 206-209), and "The Christian Dawn in Korea"-hereafter CDK (The Missionary Review of the World; hereafter MRW, Vol.3, 1890, pp.241-248). In these articles, he gave different dates for his visit as once in October, 1874 and once as in the autumn of 1873. He must have been confused in his recollection. According to the report which he contributed to Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal (Nov.-Dec. 1875) and Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church for 1875, his first visit must have been taken place in 1874. The report is more reliable than the articles, because it seems to have been written as soon as he returned from the Korean Gate. To make this date clear is highly important because it is related to the period of Bible translation as well as that of the first Korean baptism.

or vice versa. The purpose of this visit was "to ascertain, from a missionary point of view, the character of eastern Manchuria, and also to acquaint himself with an unknown people".¹⁰⁰ This implies that the visit to the Korean Gate was only a part of his itinerary.

Since the French naval warships in 1866 and an American expedition in 1871 threatened Korean shores, Korea kept herself isolated from the outside world, and any contact with foreigners was considered as a treacherous crime for which there was only one penalty - that of death. In this circumstance, how did Ross become interested in Korea and its mission? He may have learned about the Korean Catholic Church and its persecution in Korea, and J. Thomas' martyrdom, through Alexander Williamson who had once visited the Korean Gate and sold a number of Christian tracts and Bibles in 1868. The following account shows that Ross already knew something of Korea.

With the purpose of ascertaining as much about themselves [Koreans] and their country as possible, I permitted them the most perfect freedom in entering my room at the inn. They began to drop in at 8 A.M., and desisted only at 10 P.M., when they retired to rest. Naturally curious to see the "foreigner", and to learn what they could about western countries, their questions were endless. But in return for my abundant information to them, I got none. They insisted that the language they spoke to each other was Chinese - they wrote only Chinese. In response to questions put to numerous groups for several days in succession, my knowledge of their laws, social customs, family life, national institutions, and even the products and physical character of their country, was exactly what I had before. ¹⁰¹

We cannot know, however, how and why he came to have an

¹⁰⁰ Ross, CVNT, UPM for 1883, p.166.

✓ ¹⁰¹ Ross, CDK, p.241.

loving gratitude of the people among whom he laboured".¹⁰² He became interested in Korea, a year or less after his arrival in Manchuria.¹⁰³ Although it may be true that "he was a born linguist and in a surprisingly short time he was beginning to preach",¹⁰⁴ it would take him more than a year to master Chinese. That his first visit to the ~~C~~orean Gate to inquire about Korea took place in October 1874, therefore, could not be an ordinary thing. Even if he was a born linguist, this is not a sufficient explanation for his interest in the Korean mission. In fact, Ross recalled that his visit was "from curiosity, and with the design of seeing what could be done to introduce the gospel into Corea".¹⁰⁵ Being curious about the unknown and forbidden land, he must have been a man of pioneering spirit who was eager not only to learn about the country but also to do something for the country.

¹⁰² RHFM-UFC for 1915, p.397.

¹⁰³ After he had just returned from a visit to Kaichow on 5th October 1874, Ross wrote; "The principal part of the battle is won, and my way is now opened to the populous south, and to ✓ Corea, if I am reinforced from home".(MRUPC for 1875, p.420) If it is true that his first visit to the ~~C~~orean Gate happened on 9th October, he would have known much of Korea and had the intention doing something for the Korean mission.

¹⁰⁴ RHFM-UFC for 1915, p.395.

¹⁰⁵ Orr, James, "The Gospel in Corea: Notes of an address by the Rev. John Ross", MRUPC for 1890, p.186. One of the Church historians in Korea, Kwang-soo Kim, even argues that Ross wanted to be a successor to the Rev. R.J. Thomas and thus moved into Yingk'ou from Chefoo. It would seem that Kim has placed too much importance to this idea. (Kim, K. S., Hanguk Kidogkyo Innulsa; Biographies of Great Men in the History of the Korean Church, Christian Literature Company, Seoul, 1974, -3rd ed. 1981- p.18.)

(2) The first contact with Koreans

(a) On his first visit, Ross failed to realize the result of his probable intention of obtaining a Korean teacher; Koreans feared that he might be "a spy sent to investigate" Korea.¹⁰⁶ The other problem was that he arrived at the Gate a week earlier than the official opening date of the market and, thus, Koreans, mainly merchants who were interested only in trade, were under a sort of pressure to make money. For instance, they were far more curious about the texture of his clothing than the doctrine he preached. Therefore, he wished only for "returning at a more favourable time".¹⁰⁷ However, the importance of this visit was that he could "distribute Christian books", buy half a dozen "old Korean historical novels" in the form of manuscripts, and get to "know more of both people and language".¹⁰⁸ Although Ross said that "this visit was virtually thrown away"¹⁰⁹ because he could not get a Korean teacher as he wished, it was the first in a series of interesting incidents.

The distribution of Christian books to Koreans had already been undertaken by various persons, but the results are not known. But one of the lower-ranking officials of Uiju, a town at the north-west corner of Korea, received some Chinese Gospels

¹⁰⁶ Ross, CDK, p.241. But he could distribute freely some Christian books to Koreans. (cf. Ross, CVNT, p.169; MRUPC for 1875, p.472)

¹⁰⁷ MRUPC for 1875, p.472.

¹⁰⁸ Ross, CVNT, p.169.

¹⁰⁹ Ross, CVNT, p.169.

and a Christian tract -- Peep of Day¹¹⁰ translated into Chinese by William Burns -- from Ross, brought them back, and gave them to his son.¹¹¹ After studying the Gospels for two or three years, his son came to Ross to inquire about the truth, and became one of the Korean translators.¹¹² (ii) Korean books, which Ross bought at the Gate, were not unimportant. It is unlikely these books were actually written in Korean, in the sense that they were meant for sale to Chinese. But Ross could get much information about Korea from them, and that must have been useful

¹¹⁰ This tract was widely used by missions all over the world. In China, this had been translated by various missionaries: Mŭng yang kê ming by Mrs Cannyngham of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. in Shanghai in 1860 (pp.83); Heaou ts'oo heŭn taŭu in Cantonish by George Piercy of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1862 (pp.95); Ching taŭu k'ě mŭng in Mandarin by Burns in 1864 (pp.71); Heŭn ŭrh chin yēn in Mandarin by Mrs Holmes of Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1865 (pp.59); Lu dong ts'u hyiao in Ningpo dialect by Mrs Nevius. (Wylie A., Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: giving a list of their publications and obituary notices of the deceased with copious indexes, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1867; reprinted by Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, Taipei, Taiwan, 1967)

Lee, Duk-joo suggested that it was a copy of translation by Mrs Holmes. ("chogi han'gŭl sŏngsŏ pŏnyok-e kwanhan yŏn'gu" - study of the translation of the early Korean Bible - han'gŭl sŏngsŏ-wa kyŏre munhwa (Korean Bible and National Culture), kidokkyo munhwas, Seoul, 1985, p.421) A recent study of the Korean Church History also follows his opinion. (The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, Hanguk Kidokkyoŭi yŏksa: A History of Korean Church, The Christian Literature Press, Seoul, 1989, p.143)

¹¹¹ Scholars have expressed different opinions of the identity of the man. (1) He was a merchant who met Ross at the Corean Gate. (2) He was a lower official who met Ross at the Gate, or (3) He was a lower official who visited Ross at Moukden. The most probable opinion is the second. MacIntyre reports that the man was just "a friendly" Korean at the Gate, who received a copy of the Chinese New Testament and "Peep of Day" from John Ross. (MRUPC for 1880, p.278)

¹¹² He might have come to Ross, but, at that time, Ross went home for his furlough. After having inquired for three or four months, he was baptized by MacIntyre and went home. His name was Paek Hong-jun.

material when he wrote his History of Corea. (iii) The expression, "know more of both people and language", again, implies that Ross already knew something of Korea. Therefore, his visit to the Gate cannot have been accidental, but intentional. For these reason, his first visit was of importance.¹¹³

(b) On his second visit in the spring of 1876, Ross was able to find a man who was willing to become his teacher. This man, Yi Ung-ch'an, was a merchant going to the Korean Gate with his merchandise. While he was crossing the Yalu river, his boat was upset and he lost all his capital, ox-hides. So he became hopeless, and willing to do anything. Through Ross's Korean servant, who had been sent among the literary Koreans to hire a teacher, he decided to become Ross's language teacher. But the arrangement between Yi and Ross was not carried out openly, because the law against any contact with foreigners had always been strict. Ross realized afterwards that Yi had not informed even his own brother of his intention to be Ross's language teacher. Yi gave Ross the reason for his protective secrecy as follows:

If it were known in his native country that he had gone to serve the foreigner, all his relatives would be thrown into prison, and the principal man among them probably beheaded. ---The Regent issued a still more

¹¹³ In the spring of 1875, Ross met a Korean of the humblest class who had fled from home when a boy, and for eleven years had not spoken a Korean sentence, so that he had forgotten his native language. He became one of Ross's servants. Although he was not a man of significance in the Korean Church history at all, as he recalled the forms of a few letters of the Korean alphabet from among his infant recollections, Ross was able to learn a few letters of the Korean alphabet from him. With this man, Ross revisited the Korean Gate in the spring of 1876. (Ross, CVNT, p.206)

severe law against any communication with Europeans. Hence the difficulty in obtaining information or service.¹¹⁴

In these circumstances, the accident which upset the merchant's boat, and his decision to serve the foreigner was, as Ross described it, "the first of a series of interesting incidents",¹¹⁵ which finally resulted in the translation of the New Testament into Korean. While he was teaching Ross Korean, he was converted and baptized by MacIntyre in 1879.

(c) The question "who was the first Protestant convert in Korea?" is quite difficult. It is hard to identify the name of the Korean, because, unfortunately, neither Ross nor MacIntyre indicated any Korean names when they wrote their reports or articles. This has sometimes resulted in confusion among Korean readers. Furthermore, because Ross himself gave two different stories of one incident, it is difficult to identify this man as Yi Ung-ch'an.

In his "Corean Version of the New Testament", Ross said that, after they met in the Corean Gate, they travelled along the Korean border. On their journey to Yingk'ou, Ross let Yi sit on the shaft of his travelling cart so that he could take down a complete list of the Korean alphabet as well as proper order and pronunciation of the letters, for Ross thought it was uncertain how long the man might be with him. When they came across Korean pedlars prosecuting their trade at the Corean Gate, the man began to fear that some stray countryman should detect him and expose

¹¹⁴ Ross, CDK, p.242.

¹¹⁵ Ross, *ibid.*

him at home as one serving the foreigner. Although he dressed himself in Chinese robes to prevent attention, it was natural for him to be trembling in terror, because his home, Ui-ju, adjoined the border and was the most likely place in which to meet an acquaintance. After five days' travel, his fear increased and he disappeared to find his way back to his home. Therefore, Ross says disappointedly that his attempts to secure a Korean "resulted only in the disappearance of some money".¹¹⁶

This must reflect two different stories of one event. Most Korean sources have followed the former story. It seems to have come from Kim Yang-sŏn, who, in his article, "Ross Version and Korean Protestantism" published in 1967, refers only to "The Christian Dawn in Korea".¹¹⁷ Without solid historical evidence, it is quite difficult to judge which one is more authentic. But all Korean scholars agree that Yi Ung-ch'an was the first Korean who met Ross at the Korean Gate. Therefore, Yi has been regarded as the first Protestant convert. But, as far as baptism is concerned, Yi does not seem to be the first Christian. The following quotation gives an account on the first Korean baptism.

We had a visit from two Koreans at the beginning of this year (1879), both of whom professed a personal interest in the truth. ---I put them in the inquirers' class, and one of them being a fair scholar, was asked to translate the Scriptures on Mr Ross' account. Very shortly they pressed for baptism, and that clearly with

¹¹⁶ Ross had already paid him two months' wages for the man's impoverished family. (Ross, CVNT, pp.206f.)

¹¹⁷ Although Grayson has corrected the dates of Ross's visits to the Korean Gate, he also follows the former story. A recent work, by The Institute of Korean Church History Studies in 1989, mentions that Yi Ung-chan, merchant from Uiju, was a different person from the one in the later story. (Hanguk Kidokkyoŭi yŏksa: A History of Korean Church, The Christian Literature Press, Seoul, 1989, p.144)

no ultimate intention of remaining with us. It was known to them that Mr Ross was going home. --- I therefore explained my conviction, that the first converts in a church, such as ours, are necessarily committed to an open policy of witness-bearing; and acquaint their parents with their resolution before receiving baptism. They returned in due season, and one of them (the translator) is now a happy believer, whose admission to the church has given unqualified satisfaction to the Chinese members. The other returned without pressing for baptism, and we have not since heard of him. Shortly after there was another arrival. It was the son of the man to whom Mr Ross had presented the Scriptures. ---; in fact, I got to use of his services as a translator during the three or four months he was with us as an inquirer, but as soon as he received baptism he pressed to go home.---- Emboldened by the example of these two, there was soon another applicant for baptism. This was a man who has been known to us for about two years, and who did good work in Mr Ross's service as teacher and translator.¹¹⁸

✓ This report, written by MacIntyre, is the first record of a Korean baptism. Macintyre implies that "a happy believer", who was satisfied by the Chinese members, was the first baptized Christian. His baptism may have taken place in the spring of 1879.¹¹⁹ It is impossible to trace who he was, and how long he worked with MacIntyre, but it is certain that he was not Yi Ung-ch'an.¹²⁰ The second convert must be Paek Hong-jun (see footnote 111), who was at first employed as the first evangelist in Korea

1890

¹¹⁸ MRUPC for ~~1960~~, pp.278f.

¹¹⁹ In Ross's report in February 1879 and MacIntyre's report at this time, there was no mention of a Korean baptism. According to MacIntyre's report quoted above, he came first to Yingk'ou at the beginning of 1879, and was sent back home and returned "in due season". Therefore, it must have happened sometime in the spring, after Ross left Manchuria for his furlough at the end of March 1879. But A History of the Korean Church records that it was taken place in January 1879. (p.144)

¹²⁰ All the Korean sources have identified the first converts as Yi Sōng-ha, Yi Ik-se, Paek Hong-jun, Kim Chin-gi, from the town of Uiju. Choe Sōng-gyun from Uiju can be added as one of the translators. Among them, Yi Ik-se worked at the Custom office as a interpreter, and Paek was the second baptized Christian. Therefore, it is probable that he is one of the rest.

by MacIntyre and later by the Presbyterian Church in Korea. The Rev. C. Robson quotes from the August number of The Church at Home and Abroad of the Presbyterian Church of the United States (North), that "steadfastness in persecution, and faithfulness in active witness-bearing, have caused him to be known by the name of Paik disciple".¹²¹ The third man, who had already worked as teacher and translator for Ross for two years, must be Yi Ung-ch'an. The account of his baptism is as follows:

He arrived here shortly after Mr Ross left, and it seems had come in full hope of accompanying Mr Ross to Scotland! I had then resolved to take up Mr Ross's Korean work against his return, and consequently employed this last comer as teacher.--- Though he has received more instruction from me than the others, his application for baptism was quite a surprise to me. There was a suspicion once on a time of his being an opium smoker; he had a habit until recently of using coarse Chinese wine (i.e. distilled spirit) at his meals, and in such a way as led the Chinese themselves to suspect him of over-fondness for liquor. Altogether the Chinese members marked him as not of the same type with the preceding two, and his application was tabled for several months, during the greater part of which time he was on our own premises. He returned home in the interim, and I questioned if we should ever see him again. But he returned with some valuable acquisitions in the way of books, and entered with zest into my labours, behaving himself meanwhile in such a manner that he was ultimately recommended for baptism by all the members. He brought a relation with him, who is here as an enquirer; and one way and another we have had some eleven Koreans under our influence during the summer! ¹²²

✓ ¹²¹ His wife also was the first Korean woman outside of Seoul who received baptism in 1892. Charles Robson, "The Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church (North) of the United States of America", MRUPC for 1892, (p.343-346), p.345

¹²² MRUPC for 1880, p.279. Yi's relative was also baptized at the end of 1879 or at the beginning of 1880. According to MacIntyre's report on the Korean work for the year 1880, in the course of the twelve months ending with October, he was a native Korean doctor and also stayed with MacIntyre for translation purposes for several months. After receiving baptism, he went immediately home to his friends. But he continued to keep contact with MacIntyre and do evangelistic work. At this point, MacIntyre

It is quite clear here that Yi Ung-ch'an was baptized by ✓ MacIntyre during the summer of 1879. Although he had some problems with his behaviour, he, as senior teacher, had been of immense service to MacIntyre in compiling a Korean grammar and vocabulary, and had even translated Hebrews and Romans from Chinese while he was waiting for baptism. MacIntyre sees that Yi profited greatly by his early experience with Ross. In view of the fact that the first two converts were influenced so much by Ross's presentation of a single copy of the Scriptures, along with the story of Yi and his baptism, Ross's first contact with Koreans was more than just an interesting anecdote.

(d) The next incident occurred in 1878 when the Sō brothers, Sō Sang-nyun, the elder, and Sō Sang-u (later known as Kyōng-jo), the younger, went to Manchuria to peddle merchandise (mainly Korean Ginseng). On their journey, Sō Sang-nyun caught enteric fever, and was taken to the mission hospital in Yingk'ou. Being in the hospital, he was visited by MacIntyre who asked him to read the gospel. The brothers were soon converted, and Sō Sang-nyun joined Ross in the translation work in Moukden. He was baptized by Ross, and later came back to Korea as an evangelist and colporteur in 1883. But here is a slightly different version of his story.

The second evangelist, Saw Syang Youn, first heard of the gospel through Paik. On one of his journeys into China, as a travelling merchant between Korea and China, he became seriously ill, and sought medical aid

says that they had two members in Korea, and two in Newchwang. (MRUPC for 1881, p.271) Yi Sōng-ha, one of translators from Uiju, used to work with Paek Hong-jun, and therefore, he may be this man.

from one of our own agents in Moukden. During his illness in Moukden he was visited by the Rev. Mr. M'Intyre, who, on learning his knowledge of the Chinese characters, asked him to read the gospel. This he at first refused to do, but when he found on leaving Moukden that no charge was made for medical treatment, he felt so ashamed of himself that he not only took the book, but began to read it. By and by the light of the truth broke in upon his soul, and he again set out for Moukden, where he was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Ross. This occurred twelve years ago, and he is now the chief helper in all mission work at Seoul.¹²³

It is understandable that he did not tell his story in detail because of his feeling of shame. Again, the question is when he received baptism. According to his own testimony, he was baptized in 1879. It would be possible for him to have heard of the gospel through Paek before 1879, because they all were from the same city, Uiju. But, judging from his own account of his baptism, he was not baptized in 1879, but in 1881, when Ross returned from Britain, while he was engaged in translation work, and the printing work was just commencing. As the above quotation was written in 1892, and it mentions that his baptism had taken place twelve years ago, the time of his baptism may be correctly given as 1881. From then on he played the most important role in the foundation of the Church, which will later be discussed in detail.

(e) The baptism of Kim Ch'öng-song¹²⁴ also came about through an interesting accident. He was a medicine peddler who

¹²³ Robson, "op.cit.", p.345

¹²⁴ His name may be Kim Song-ch'öng, who copied the final draft of 1st & 2nd Corinthians manuscript of the Ross Version. His name appears on the last page of the manuscript, which is kept in the library of the BFBS: "P'il Kim Song-ch'öng"(筆金宋青) means "written by Kim Song-ch'öng".

came to Moukden from the Korean settlement in West Kando. Kando, which means a neutral zone, refers to the unoccupied area between China and Korea, and it was called the Korean Valley by Manchurian missionaries. But he was not successful in his business, and he could sell only enough medicine to barely cover his daily expenses. His medicine came to end, and he had no money with which to pay for lodging, so he came to the mission house for help. It was at the end of 1881, when a Korean was required who could set type, after the printing press was set up. So Ross gave Kim a job in the print shop. It is interesting to hear Ross's description of him:

His eye was sleepy, his fingers clumsy, his gait slow, his thoughts of the most sluggish. To understand any process, he required four times as much explanation as any ordinary man. He was just able to keep the two printers going, setting four pages of type while they threw off three thousand copies. But though slow he soon proved himself trustworthy, carrying out satisfactorily whatever he had to. He had, in setting the type, necessarily to scrutinize closely the manuscript before him. He became interested, and in his broken Chinese began to ask of the printers, who were well-trained Christians, the meaning of this term and that statement. By the time the gospel of Luke was printed, he became an applicant for baptism. Much to my surprise, he proved himself well acquainted with Christian truth, and in due course was baptized. ¹²⁵

It is believed that the type-setting work began in November 1881,¹²⁶ and therefore he met Ross at that time. As the Gospel of Luke was published in March 1882, -- and John in May --, he was certainly baptized in the spring of 1882, and shortly after that, he turned the printing work over to others and went back to the Korean settlement as a colporteur. Although he had many

¹²⁵ Ross, CDK, p.243.

¹²⁶ Western Committee Minutes Book of the National Bible Society of Scotland (hereafter WCMB), No.7, p.386.

difficulties with his printing work, as a colporteur he did a remarkable work in the Korean Valley, in establishing the first Korean congregation, albeit outside Korea.

As we have seen, Ross met his language teachers and helpers, not by his intention or theirs, but by accident. An extraordinary coincidence is that all of them, except Kim Ch'ōng-song, came from the Uiju area. This series of incidents can be called "a providential accident",¹²⁷ as Ross terms it.

¹²⁷ Ross, CDK, p.243.

CHAPTER THREE

TRANSLATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE BIBLE

Whether or not Ross's contact with Koreans was "the providential accident",¹ it is obvious that, from the beginning, Ross intended to evangelize Korea through the introduction of the Bible. Until 1884, it was physically impossible for foreigners to enter Korean ground, and therefore, the distribution of the scriptures was the only possible way to introduce the Gospel into Korea. But it may be asked why he did not attempt to do so through the Chinese Bible. As Chinese was regarded as the official writing system in Korea, literally "true writing system",² Ross had already found out, at the Korean Gate in 1874, the fact that many Koreans could read and write Chinese. Thus Ross presented copies of the Scriptures and of Christian tracts to Koreans whom he met at the Gate. Nevertheless he was encouraged to translate the New Testament into Korean because he saw first, "every person in Korea could read their own language"³; second, the alphabet in which the language was written was "phonetic", and "so beautifully simple" that anyone

¹ Saying "providence" conveys not the objective, but the subjective understanding of certain events, judged by their consequences after the actual events had happened. In this sense, Ross's interest and contact with Korea can only be considered as "the providential accident" by Koreans.

² At that time, Chinese was commonly described as "chinsō", the true writing system, while Korean was treated as "ōnmun", the vulgar script. (see note 17 of Chapter 1)

³ Ross, CVNT, p.208.

could "easily and speedily master it".⁴ Therefore, Ross had a strong conviction of the value of his translation work:

This translation is to Corean what Wickliffe's was to England, with these differences - that there will be so many or so important subsequent changes; that the number of people who can read this one is far more numerous, while the price of copies will make them accessible to all who can read. The Chinese Bible is to Corea what the Latin was to "Old England"; and Corean literary men can understand it as well as can Chinese. --- The importance of this work can be understood from the facts that Corean is the language of about twelve millions of people, subject to only slight and unimportant provincial differences, and that all the people, because of the remarkable simplicity of its phonetic alphabet, can read. If, therefore, this translation is to the Corean literary man what the Chinese version cannot be, it goes to the women of that country, and to the lowliest and illiterate poor, to speak to them plainly, in language which all understand and employ in daily life, of the wondrous love of Him who is the Saviour of the world.⁵

It is clear here that, in his mind, Ross considers the women and the poor as the object of his translation rather than the literary upper-class men. When he emphasizes the importance of "the dissemination of the Scriptures and of Christian truth in tracts", Ross stresses the fact that "every woman" in Korea can learn to read the language in a day".⁶ In a situation in which women and the poor were absolutely deprived of the opportunity of education owing to social discrimination, the emphasis on the deprived is more than interesting. His decision to translate into the language of the common people was a kind of "revolution" that ran counter to the social structure. His revolutionary thinking against the contemporary social structure eventually made a great

⁴ Ross, "Christian Dawn in Korea" (CDK), MRW, April, 1890, p.242.

⁵ Ross, CVNT, p.209.

⁶ Ross, CDK, p.242.

contribution to the enlightenment of ordinary Koreans as well as to the development of the Korean Protestant Church.⁷

But his translation of the Bible was all the more important for laying the foundation of the Church. In order to explore the reason for its importance, it is necessary to examine the steps which Ross followed in the translation work; that is, the preparation for translation, the period of translation, methods and principles, and publication and distribution.

1. The preparation for the Bible translation

Ross had first to learn the Korean language, not only for the Bible translation, but also for the evangelization of Korea. His real study of Korean must have been begun after he met Yi Ung-ch'an at the Korean Gate in 1876. It is surprising that Ross had been able to dip, at least a little, into Korean shortly after he made his second visit to the Korean Gate.⁸ According to a letter from MacIntyre dated 18th September 1876, Ross had already made some progress in the study of Korean.⁹ The first

⁷ As the Gospels of Luke and John in 1882 were the first printed books in Korean, it is said that, since this publication of the Gospels, the renaissance of the Korean vernacular by missionaries had formed the basis of a new vernacular literature. For instance, the first newspaper in Korean, "tongnip sinmun" (Independence News), was only issued on 7th April 1896, fourteen years later than the publication of the Gospel.

⁸ MRUPC for 1877, p.355.

⁹ MRUPC for 1876, p.326. In fact, MacIntyre had once thought that Ross had learned Korean without a teacher, and without books or help of any kind. MacIntyre admired Ross in his efforts to acquire the Korean language. (MRUPC for 1880, p.279)

fruits of his study came out in the form of a Primer.

A book called, *Corean Primer*, which was published in Shanghai in 1877, must have been a joint work with his language teacher, Yi Ung-ch'an. Although translated mostly from *Mandarin Primer*, which was published in 1876, *Corean Primer* is a little different from the *Mandarin Primer* in its purpose and style. In Ross's intention, the *Mandarin Primer* was "first to provide a real primer for beginners, and second, to make an attempt towards creating a more natural transliteration of Chinese than at present prevails".¹⁰ But Ross states in its introduction that the *Corean Primer* was designed to introduce the Korean language to "those desirous to prepare for the official, mercantile, and chiefly the missionary intercourse with Corea, which cannot be of distant date".¹¹ If the *Corean Primer* was the first fruit of Ross's study of Korean, it is clear that its purpose was as a preparatory step for the evangelization of Korea. Of course, his learning Mandarin was his preparation for the Manchurian mission work. But he had to learn Chinese for his mission work in Manchuria at that time whereas he did not need to learn Korean for his primary duties. Publishing the *Corean Primer*, therefore, indicates that he had reached a clear intention of evangelizing

¹⁰ Ross, John, *Mandarin Primer*; being easy lessons for beginners, transliterated according to the European Mode of using Roman letters, American Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai, 1876. preface iii.

¹¹ Ross, John, *Corean Primer*; being in Corean on all ordinary subjects, transliterated on the principles of the "Mandarin Primer", American Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai, 1877. p.III: Although Ross states that *Corean Primer* was transliterated from *Mandarin Primer*, it is obviously translation rather than transliteration.

Korea shortly after he settled in Yingk'ou.

In its content, *Corean Primer* bears a resemblance to the *Mandarin Primer*, but contains 33 chapters instead of the latter's 43.¹² In format, each chapter of the *Mandarin Primer* begins with a list of the basic vocabulary relating to its subject; this is omitted in the Korean version. In both *Primers*, individual sentences have phonetic transcription in Roman letters as well as English translation. But, as Ross follows the rule of the absolute word to word translation, putting the English meanings directly under each Korean word, he could not avoid producing sentences which are incomplete in English. Although most sentences are understandable to English people with a little guesswork, they could cause some difficulties for comprehending the meaning of a completed Korean sentence. This problem is obviously related to differences in the word order between Chinese and Korean. The following sentences show the differences.

- a. 靈魂不會死 령 혼 은 죽 디 안 닌 다 13
lingwhun boō whi su. ling whonun dsoogdi annunda.
The soul cannot die. Soul die cannot.
- b. 父親疼愛孩子
foōchin tungngai hāidsū .
The father greatly loves the child.

¹² While *Mandarin Primer* (pp.122) is composed of about 1,400 sentences or phrases, with a list of 1,000 vocabulary items (English-Chinese in alphabetical order) at the end of the book, *Corean Primer* (pp.89) contains about 800 sentences. 680 sentences have been directly translated from Mandarin, 40 sentences are quite similar to the forms of Mandarin, and 80 are totally different. *Corean Primer* does not have a listed vocabulary at the beginning of each chapter not at the end of the book.

¹³ The modern standard form is "ryōng-hon-ūn chukji annūnda".

- 14
- 이 바 니 얼 언 아 를 극 키 시 랑 한 다
 avani uranarul gukki sarang handa.
 Father child dearly loves.
- c. 當愛人如己
 dang ngai zun zoo ji.
 We should love men as ourselves.
- 15
- 시 랑 사 랑 하 기 를 제 몸 갖 티
 saram sarang haghirul jemon gatti.
 Men, love, self (same) as.

As we can see, the word order of Chinese is nearer to that of English so that a simple translation from Chinese to English may produce a perfect sentence without changing the word order. Because of the completely literal word to word translation, English translations in the Korean Primer form a row of isolated words. This indicates that the Korean Primer was primarily designed for missionaries who already knew Chinese and tried to learn Korean, and that Ross did not intend to have vocabulary list in the Korean Primer. Whatever the reasons are, English syntax is not sufficient for people to understand the Korean language. However, to take the Mandarin and the Korean Primer together, offers a basis of communicating with Koreans.

For our subject, it is not particularly useful to analyze the Korean Primer linguistically or grammatically. There was no fixed Korean grammar at the time of Ross, and thus, analysis in terms of modern Korean grammar would be pointless. However, some general points should be made here.

First, it reflects the local dialect of the northern-western part of Korea, where Ross's teacher came from, "pyōngan

¹⁴ The standard form is "abōji-nun ai-rul kūkhi saranghanda"

¹⁵ "saram sarang-hagirūl chemonkach'i hara"

provincial dialect". It is not surprising that this characteristic also became a ground criticism of the Ross Version of the Korean New Testament. But when this provincial dialect is written down, it is understood without any difficulty in the south of Korea as well as in the capital.¹⁶

Some archaic words, which were no longer used or scarcely used in the south, are also found in the Primer. This indicates that there were differences in the process of linguistic development between the north and the south. The same forms of archaic words were also used in the Ross Version, but it is not likely that those words would have produced problems, in communicating between southerners and northerners, or in conveying the meaning of a text.¹⁷

Too many spelling mistakes in Korean are to be found. It is surprising that the misspellings are all, except in one instance, found in the Korean script.¹⁸ the romanization of

¹⁶ It is unnecessary to explain why the written and spoken dialect is differently understood. The spoken dialect of this province has a peculiar accent, a distinct pronunciation of certain words, and different terminations in various tenses. But, in the written dialect form, although it still keeps its peculiarities, there is no difficulty in understanding it, just as with differences between British English and English in the other parts of the world.

¹⁷ For instance, the following ancient forms of words are also found in St. Luke of the Ross Version as well as in the Primer: sai for sae (bird); gai for kae (dog); yurum or yorum for yŏlmae (fruit); niurum for yŏrŭm (summer); gēghoor or gaegul for kaeul (stream or small river); doggoo for tokki (axe), etc. Although these archaic words were scarcely used in the south, they would be understandable all over Korea.

¹⁸ The only mistake in the romanization of Korean is "doalmugnunda", which means "eating well". It should be transcribed as "jal" or "dsal" according to Ross's rule of transliteration.(CP. p.27) That there is only one mistake is an example of Ross's linguistic ability, and how well he took down the dictation of his Korean teacher, compared with how many

Korean has been done perfectly in terms of the language of those days. There is a possibility that the mistakes may have mostly occurred in the process of cutting and setting type. If so, it indicates that, at that time, Ross did not have the ability to correct the spelling mistakes, and also that his Korean teacher did not proofread the Korean text.

It was one of the problems of the Korean writing system at that time that, like Chinese, it did not leave spaces between words. This causes some difficulties in understanding the Korean. In the Korean Primer, the Korean scribe or compositor did not leave spaces between words. This could create for Koreans misunderstanding of the meaning of the Korean sentences. But, judging from the spaces between romanized words, it is certain that Ross himself easily recognized the spaces between words, and had no difficulty in this respect.

Finally, over-free translations, totally wrong translations, and direct use of difficult Chinese words, are found in many places. Some of the cases of free translation convey the same meaning as the original Chinese sentences, some do not. Sometimes free translation produced better English sentences than those in the Mandarin Primer. It is interesting to see that a few free translations correct the initial mistakes in the Mandarin Primer. For instance,

- (1) M: 換這一個銀子去
whan chéa yi yá yíndsu chū
go and change this shoe

mistakes his teacher made in the transcriptions of Korean sentences.

C: 이 한 객 은 바 굴 러 가 시
 yi hangê un bagoorru gashi
 this one (shoe) silver change go

19

Silver in China was usually moulded in the shape of "shoe" at that time. In the Mandarin Primer, therefore, silver was mistranslated into "shoe" in English; it was corrected in the Korean Primer. But "yi hangê un" (이 한객 은: this one silver) is directly translated from Mandarin (一個銀子) without changing the word order. In Korean, the proper order of this phrase should be "yi un hangê".

(2) M: 站住等一回

janjoo, dŭng yiwhwi
 Stop, wait a little.

C: 안 저 줌 기 두 리 시
 andsu jom gidoorushi
 Stand, I little stop.

20

This is a case of totally wrong translation as well as free translation. In Mandarin, "janjoo" means "to stop", standing still, while in Korean, "andsu" means not "to stop", but "to sit down". There are no words for "I" nor "stop" in the Korean sentence, and its mood suggests: "Let's sit down and wait a little". In the sense that, in Korean, waiting activity is supposed to be carried out in the sitting position, the above sentence is a good example of colloquial translation, but the English translation is so wrong that these mistakes must mislead someone learning Korean. This kind of mistake must have been caused by misunderstanding between Ross and his teacher. One of the typical misunderstandings between them is shown in the

19. hangê (한객) and bagoorru (바굴러) are spelling mistakes. They should be written "한개" and "바꾸러".

20. "줌" (jom) is misspelling of "쭈" (jŭ). The standard form is "anjŏ jom gidarija".

following sentence: "apbang saram boollu ōna."²¹ The English meaning is "call a man who is in the front room". But Ross wrote cook under apbang (front room) saram (man). It is obvious that the cook was in the front room, and both Ross and his teacher referred to the man, but in different words. If this sentence had been translated from the Mandarin Primer, this kind of misunderstanding would not have occurred.

(3) M: 靈魂至寶至貴的
 lingwhun jūbaojūgwedī
 The soul is most precious.

C: 령혼이지보지귀한거시디²²
 liung whoni jibo ji grr(u)ei hangushidi
 Soul most precious is.

This is the case of the direct use of Chinese words. The word for "jūbaojūgwedi" is not impossible to translate into Korean, but the translator seems to have found difficulty in choosing the appropriate word. "Jibo jigwei" (most precious) is a direct phonetic reading of jūbaojūgwedi which conveys a double emphasis of preciousness. This may not have been a difficult Chinese word for the Korean people of that time. As with the above sentence, to put a certain particle after Chinese words may be the easiest way to translate Chinese into Korean. But this kind of sentence could be understood only by educated Koreans who knew Chinese.

(4) M: 脫生不了
 twōshung boō līao
 It cannot transmigrate.

²¹ 압 방 사 램 불 러 오 나
 apbang saram boollu ona.
 Cook call come.

²² The Standard form is "ryōnghonūn chibo chigwihan kōsida".

C: 비서나지못하갓다
busunaji mothaghatda.
Transmigrate cannot.

23

This is the opposite case to the previous sentence. The meaning of the Korean sentence has nothing to do with transmigration. It only means "(it) cannot be free from". It seems to be a case of free translation like the example of (1). The translator may have tried to translate it by the pure Korean word. But, as the actual meaning of the Chinese sentence is "Transmigration cannot be completed", it is a case of a totally wrong translation arising from the translator's misunderstanding of the concept of transmigration. He may not have thought of an appropriate word for transmigration at the moment of translation; perhaps because "twōshung", used in the Mandarin Primer, was not an appropriate word for transmigration.²⁴ When a translator does not know the meaning of a certain word, and is quite ignorant of technical terms, good translation is not to be expected. For instance, when the concept of "steamer" was not known in Korea, the translator could not help by simply putting the Chinese word into Korean.²⁵

The above examples, although they are general points, are important in relation to the Bible translation, since the same or similar mistakes are found in the Ross Version of the Korean New Testament. Therefore, the Corean Primer must be regarded as a

²³. Misspelling for "bu". The standard Korean will be "pōsōnaji mot hagetta"

²⁴ The common word for transmigration in Chinese is "yunhoe" (輪廻).

²⁵ hwanoonshen (화륜선:火輪船) in Corean Primer is the Korean way of pronouncing whōlwūnchwan, steamer, in Mandarin Primer.

kind of paradigm of the Ross Version. It is significant not only as being the first book on the Korean language in English, but as exercising an important effect upon the first Korean New Testament.

2. The Period of Bible Translation

It is uncertain when Ross began to translate the New Testament into Korean. On the erroneous ground that Yi Ung-ch'an met Ross in the autumn of 1874, most Korean scholars state that translation work began in 1875.²⁶ However, it could not be earlier than 1876, because Ross met Yi only in the Spring of 1876. For this reason, Grayson argues that only after Ross published the *Corean Primer* in 1877 the translation work was possible.²⁷ Grayson insists that Ross began to translate after he had finished his Korean lessons with Yi's help. Perhaps the actual work of translation began after the publication of the *Corean Primer*. There is, however, a possibility that Ross may from the beginning have learned Korean by translating.²⁸

This is suggested by the content of the *Corean Primer*. The

²⁶ Since Grayson insisted, in his *John Ross: First Missionary in Korea* in 1982 (pp. 31f.), that Ross was able to meet Yi only in the Spring of 1876, some church historians have agreed. cf. Lee, Man-yeol, *hankuk kidokkyo munhwa undong-sa* (History of the Christian Literature Movement of Korea), Seoul, Christian Literature Society in Korea, 1987, p.22.

²⁷ Grayson, *JRFMK*, p.35.

²⁸ cf. *MRUPC* for 1881, p.86; MacIntyre says, "These men (Korean translators) I am educating while they are teaching me". This indicates the possibility that Ross also may have learned Korean through the translation work.

last two of its thirty-three chapters are lessons under the titles "Moral" and "Soul". It is interesting to find religious terms and expressions in the two chapters such as, "Have mercy on"; "Body must die, but soul cannot die"; "Man cannot change into gods and demons"; "Soul was defiled by world", etc. These terms and expressions may be supposed to have been rarely found in ordinary use at that time. Although the two chapters were translated from the Mandarin Primer and designed chiefly for missionaries, they may well indicate that translation work had already been in progress before the Corean Primer was published. However, it is strange that, if Ross had already begun to translate the Bible into Korean, he should have omitted the last chapter of the Mandarin Primer on "God and Salvation", in the Corean Primer.²⁹ Therefore, it is quite safe to say that the actual work of translation went on apace after the publication of the Corean Primer.³⁰

Assuming that Ross may have learned Korean through the Bible translation, the period of translation can be divided into the period of the initial translation (1876 -March 1879), the period of the second translation and revision (April 1879-June 1881), and the period of the final translation and revision (July 1881-

²⁹ Lesson 62, "God and Salvation", of the Mandarin Primer consists of about 50 sentences. Its contents are about God, Jesus, and His salvation.

³⁰ According to MacIntyre's report for 1879, a Korean (Yi Eung-chan), as teacher and translator, had served Ross for about two years (MRUPC for 1880, p.278). Therefore, it is certain that this man had been working for Ross at least from 1877.

1886).³¹

(1) The initial translation (1876 - March 1879)

✓

According to MacIntyre's report, at least half of the translation work of the New Testament was almost completed by the middle of 1879.³² When Ross left Moukden for his furlough at the beginning of April in 1879, he seems to have brought to Scotland the rough drafts of the Gospels, Acts, and Romans translated into Korean.³³ If translation had been begun after the publication of the Corean Primer in 1877, it means that the first drafts from St. Matthew to Romans were completed in less than two years. During this period, only Yi Ung-ch'an had been involved in the translation work under Ross's supervision. For such a short period, they certainly did a good deal of work, when we consider

³¹ A recent study of Korean Church History classifies the period of translation into the following four stages: (1) The period of preparation (1874-1877), (2) the period of the early translation (1887-April 1879), (3) the period of revision (May 1879-May 1881), (4) the period of the completion of translation (June 1881-1886). Problems with this division are that (1) Ross met Yi Ung-ch'an in the spring of 1876, not in 1875; (2) Ross sailed from Shanghai to London on 10th April 1879, and therefore, he certainly left Yingk'ou at the end of March; (3) although Ross returned to Manchuria in June 1881, the revision work was continued by MacIntyre, as Ross concentrated on setting up the press in Moukden. (cf. Hankuk kidokkyo-ŭi yŏksa: A History of Korean Church, ed. by The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, Seoul, Korea, 1989, pp.146-8)

³² MRUPC for 1880, p.15: MacIntyre reports that "the translation of the New Testament Scriptures into Corean begun by Mr Ross is now completed, or will be.--- Mr Ross has with him the Gospels, Acts, and Romans". Ross seems to have reported to the National Bible Society of Scotland that he had already translated half of the New Testament by the beginning of 1879: Quarterly Record of the National Bible Society of Scotland (QRNBSS) for 1863-92, p.601; WCMB-NBSS No.6, p.398.

³³ MRUPC for 1880, p.15.

that Yi Ung-ch'an was not with Ross all the time.³⁴

Besides Yi, there was another Korean who engaged in the translation work during this period. His name is unknown, but he was the first baptized Protestant in Korea. He came to Yingk'ou at the beginning of 1879 to inquire about Christian truth, and was asked to translate the Scriptures by Ross. But, as Ross left there at the beginning of April, he had worked under Ross for less than three months.³⁵ Therefore, it is hardly to be believed that he played an important role in the initial translation during this period.

(2) The second translation and revision (April 1879- March 1882)

After Ross went to Scotland, [✓]MacIntyre took up the translation work. As a missionary for Manchuria who did not know Korean, he seems at first to have had no intention of taking up Ross's Korean work. But he thought it over.

Little did I think that his [Ross's] going home would leave me face to face with the question, "Is all this work to lie in abeyance for two years?" It seemed to me that I ought to carry on the work of translation he had now begun, and to use the teachers who had providentially turned up. Thus have I slid into Korean studies. I thought to work only through the medium of the Chinese language, but how check or help the translation without a knowledge of Korean? And so Korean is my labour outside of my preaching, and looks as if it would be my life's work.³⁶

³⁴ According to MacIntyre, Yi came to Yingk'ou (probably from Korea) shortly after Ross left for Scotland, and seems to have come in full hope of accompanying Ross to Scotland. (MRUPC for 1880, p.279)

³⁵ MRUPC for 1880, p.278. (For the first baptism, see pp.90-94.)

^{✓36} MRUPC for 1880, p.279.

He was certainly encouraged to take over the work by Koreans who had "providentially turned up". Yi Ung-ch'an was again employed as teacher. MacIntyre witnesses that Yi "profited greatly by his experience" with Ross, and provided an "immense service" in compiling a Korean grammar and vocabulary.³⁷ Having much more knowledge of the Scriptures than any of the other Koreans, he was at once asked to translate Hebrews and Romans. Just before Yi came to MacIntyre the first convert came and remained as a translator only for a few months. Pak Hong-jun,³⁸ the first evangelist of Korea, also served MacIntyre as a translator, when he was an inquirer for three or four months in the first half of 1879. As soon as he received baptism he returned to Korea. One way and another, MacIntyre had the services of eleven Koreans during the summer of 1879.

By the end of 1879, whether or not he used only Chinese as the medium language between himself and the Korean translators, MacIntyre had a rough draft of the entire New Testament translated into Korean.³⁹ He indicates that his work differed from the work done under Ross, but it is certain that, without the first draft done by Ross, he could not have translated the entire New Testament in less than a year. Through extracts from

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ See p.88f.

³⁹ At the same time, he translated some tracts such as "Evidence of Christianity", "Summary of Old Testament History", "Peep of Day", and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress". All of these were translated from Chinese editions, used as ways of elucidating Scripture. These books also seem to have been adapted for his purpose of studying Korean as well as preparing the translation of the Bible. For Koreans' own instruction in Mandarin, he also made them translate Wade's colloquial series (cf. MRUPC for 1880, p.15, p.279).

the first drafts, he learned a Korean "grammar and analysis of sentences",⁴⁰ and for this reason his translation can be called the second draft for Ross Version.

In spite of his lack of knowledge of Korean, he already detected serious mistakes in both the first and second drafts. As he saw it, a mastery of all the languages concerned is essential in translating from one language to another. But it is obvious that Ross, MacIntyre, and the Koreans needed Chinese as the medium of communication. It is beyond question that the Koreans did not know Greek, and that neither party fully mastered even Chinese. Therefore they could not avoid serious mistakes in translation. Careful revision of the drafts was inevitably needed. In this sense, the second phase of this period can be defined as a "period of revision".

By the end of October 1880, MacIntyre had already carefully revised Matthew, Mark, and Acts, and Luke was well on towards completion. Among them, Matthew was in its fourth draft.⁴¹ This fourth draft of Matthew means the third revision of the one Ross brought to Scotland. It is uncertain how many Koreans were involved in this revision work. As about thirty [✓]Koreans had been under MacIntyre's instruction during 1880,⁴² Some of them, apart from four Korean translators, would have given MacIntyre their services from time to time. For instance, in the summer of 1879, Yi Ung-ch'an brought a relative, a Korean native doctor, who could write Chinese as perfectly as he did Korean. MacIntyre

⁴⁰ MRUPC for 1880, p.15.

⁴¹ MRUPC for 1881, p.271.

⁴² MRUPC for 1881, p.270.

portrays him as follows:

He assuredly did not come to us for gain. I gave him board and lodging while he was with us, and prevailed upon him to stay for several months, as I had need of him for translating purposes. But he received no wages and he asked none. Immediately he received baptism he went home to his friends, and we hear he continues to do well. We have thus two members in Corea, and two here. ⁴³

His baptism took place in 1880, and he became the fourth baptized Protestant in Korea. Except in the case of Yi Ung-ch'an, most Koreans came to Ross and MacIntyre of their own free will inquiring after Christian truth, and were asked to translate the Bible into Korean while they remained as enquirers for several months. It indicates that translation and revision was carried out by various Koreans. It was therefore difficult to achieve uniformity in the translation.

At that time, MacIntyre's daily life was divided into three parts: Bible class in the morning, daily preaching in the street-chapel in the afternoon, and revision and translation of the Bible in the evening. He spent from three to four hours every day in the work of "preparing, by careful revision, the translation of the New Testament, and other Christian books", into Korean.⁴⁴

He describes his evening work as follows:

I have latterly organized an evening meeting for Coreans, conducted by one of our translators in their own room, and at which we have had as many as eight Coreans present. I am always present, but as a listener. I took up with Corean simply for translating purposes, and dealt with it therefore as a book language, Chinese being the spoken medium between the translators and myself. ⁴⁵

⁴³ MRUPC for 1881, p.271.

⁴⁴ MRUPC for 1881, p.267.

⁴⁵ MRUPC for 1881, p.270.

Until Ross returned from Scotland, translation work, or rather revision, seems have been carried out at these meetings. Although MacIntyre tried to translate the entire New Testament in a different style of Korean, he seems to have concentrated more on the revision of the first and second drafts than on a new translation. There is no doubt that this pattern of work was continued during the second part of this period. It was the period in which the basis of the first Korean New Testament was formed.

In other words, the translation work begun by Ross could not have been done without the assistance of MacIntyre. He had thrown himself into the Korean work with all his heart for three years. Although he confesses that he did not at first regard it as a life-work, but stepped into it "by accident", the following quotation shows his earnest attitude to the work. He explains his feeling when he had a serious eye trouble caused by overwork.

I never for a moment doubted my eyes, and had not a day's disquietude on that account. I was distinctly conscious of a sense of independence if my eyes gave out - I could then live a happy life of travel between China and Corea, the novelty of a blind teacher only adding to my audiences. But nothing - not even blindness - could at this stage have diverted me from Corean. My soul was now in it; and the more I worked the more did the work commend itself to my Christian conscience.... But now I began to look on Corean as my life work, and a very necessitous work indeed, which will demand a relay of men from home before it can be finished. ⁴⁸

His earnestness was of a great help in completion of the Korean New Testament. Without MacIntyre's assistance, the completion of the Korean New Testament must have been delayed for some years.

⁴⁸ QRNBSS, p.666; cf. MRUPC for 1883, p.220.

(3) The final translation and revision (April 1882-1886)

After Ross returned from Scotland, MacIntyre left on furlough from the beginning of 1882 to the spring of 1884, and the work went on as before with Ross.⁴⁷ As Luke was published in the beginning of 1882,⁴⁸ and the entire New Testament appeared in 1887, there is no doubt that, during this period, translation or revision work must have been continued until the entire New Testament was completed. But in Ross's reports of this period, there is no mention of translation work, but only of the process of revision. At this point, when Ross had at least the fourth draft of the translation done by MacIntyre,⁴⁹ to talk of fresh translation would be meaningless, since only careful revision would be needed for the purpose of early printing.

The revision work of this period seems to have concentrated largely not on correct translation, but on the better expression in Korean. Ross already knew through some Korean scholars who

⁴⁷ Ross returned to Yingk'ou in summer 1881, but he seems to have concentrated on the preparation for printing of the first edition of St. Luke. Until MacIntyre left on furlough at the end of March 1882, he seems to have continued his Korean work (cf. MRUPC for 1883, p.220).

⁴⁸ The cover of one of the copies in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society carries the date 24th March 1882. Some Koreans insist that it is the publishing date. But it is probably rather be a posting date, as Ross sent a letter to the BFBS on 24th March 1882. Cf. Yi Ŭng-ho, "ch'oechoŭi han'gŭl sŏnggyŏng: yesu sŏnggyo nugabokŭm chŏnsŏ" (the first Korean Bible: St. Luke), *kukŏ kyoyuk*, nos. 44 & 45, 1983, p.422, 430; Lee, Duk-joo, "ch'ogi han'gŭl sŏngsŏ pŏnyŏge kwanhan yŏn'gu" (study of the translation of the early Korean Bible), *Han'gŭl sŏngsŏwa kyŏre munhwa*, 1985, p.424; British and Foreign Bible Society Editorial Correspondence - Inward (ECI-BFBS), vol. 16, p.330.

⁴⁹ In case of St. Luke, he had either the 8th or 9th draft, just before he printed it out (ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.78).

visited him from the capital that the final draft of translation, even the first edition of St. Luke, contained some "faulty idiom" borrowed from Chinese.⁵⁰ Several mistakes in idiom, which were criticized by Korean scholars, arose mainly because the translation was not in the language of the capital, but in the "p'yŏngan dialect".⁵¹ Ross tried to solve this problem by employing Korean scholars who came from the capital. Until the completion of the Korean New Testament in 1887, he employed three or four Koreans from the capital, besides his original translators. Through their assistance, the final draft of the entire New Testament may have been finished by the end of 1886.⁵²

One of the characteristics of this period is that many anonymous Koreans were involved in the revision work, and, from the beginning, all of them came to Ross not to seek for employment, but to learn Christian truth or to apply for baptism. For this reason, Ross may have seen Korea as a most promising field, and have been encouraged to continue his Korean work, in spite of criticism by the Home Church. The Foreign Mission Committee at home accused him of concentrating on "unnecessary work" instead of on the Manchurian Mission. He seems to have put all his effort and time into printing the first edition of St. Luke, John, and Acts in 1882. As a result, MacGill wrote him as

⁵⁰ ECI-BFBS, vol.16, p.330; vol.17, pp.45f.

⁵¹ cf. ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.46 & 78.

⁵² In his report for 1886, he says that the final revision of the Korean New Testament was finished "last month". The phrase, "last month", might well indicate that the translation work was completed by the end of 1886. (MRUPC for 1887, p.226.)

follows;

When the Board spoke of preaching and itinerating as being your chief work, they wished to impress you with the idea that your chief time and strength were not to be given to translation work however important that work may be. While I am glad to know that you are doing this work and doing it well, the Board are of opinion that direct mission work is to have the first place in your thoughts and plans and efforts. ⁵³

In his thought, in certain circumstances, literary work including the Bible translation may have had the first place since it would be more effective for evangelization than direct mission work. Because of the social and political obstacles in Korea at that time, Ross's literary work was not only the most effective, but also it was the only method of introducing the Gospel into Korea.

3. The Principles and Methods of Translation

(1) Principles

For ten years from 1876 to 1886, translation work was guided by Ross and MacIntyre. They both had simple principles of translation:

These are, first, an absolutely literal translation compatible with the meaning of the passage and the idiom of the Korean language and second, the Greek of the Revised Version is made the standard rather than the English. My main object being an accurate and faithful representation of the sense, in the best attainable idiom. Where that sense is rendered by periphrasis in Chinese I have followed the literal

⁵³ This is the part of MacGill's letter dated 5th October 1882. (NLSMC, No.7659, pp.88-90)

language of the Greek. ⁵⁴

We do not know when these principles were adopted. As this letter was written on 24th January 1883, they seem to have been set out at the beginning of the final period of translation. But, according to MacIntyre's reports, he also followed similar principles while he was engaged in the translation work so they are clearly older than the letter. One exception is that MacIntyre could not have used the Greek Revised Version as his standard of translation, since it was first published in 1881. Although Ross gives few explanations of the initial translation work, his principles of translation can be summarized from a number of letters and reports.

(1) Translate into the language of the common people. Although many Koreans could read and write Chinese, Ross was aware that the great majority of Koreans were entirely ignorant of Chinese, but were able to read with ease their own language. From the beginning, therefore, he decided to translate the Scriptures into the writing system of the common people, han'gŭl. In other words, he attempted to make not an educated people's Bible, but a Bible for everybody. He seems to have considered himself like Wycliffe in advocating a translation into the language of the people.

(2) The use of pure Korean words: Han'gŭl has many Chinese loan words, not less than a half of Korean, and thus has a number of synonyms indistinguishable in meaning but different in origin.

⁵⁴ ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.329f.: The matter of "an absolutely literal translation" will be discussed in the chapter four. (see pp.187f.)

As Ross gives examples, both "Hanul" (하늘) and "ch'ŏn" (天) mean "heaven", "saram" (사람) and "in" (人), mean "human being". These kinds of words can be interchanged at any time. In this case, Ross seems always to have leaned to the use of the pure Korean word instead of the loan one. This principle is related to the first, translation into the language of the people. The preference for the use of the Korean word led to simplicity of the Scriptures in diction, and thus occasioned criticism by Korean scholars who believed that Chinese provided the best norms for language.⁵⁵

(3) Meaning comes first. Ross believes that verbal translation is not true translation, that the full sense of the original in idiomatic language comes first, and that mere literal translation can never be idiomatic. In this sense, he insists; "My aim has been to represent the real sense in idiomatic language and literal verbal translation had to wait upon these two conditions".⁵⁶ In other words, meaning takes priority in his translation.

(4) Avoid expressions which conflict with normal Korean

⁵⁵ cf. ECI-BFBS, Vol.18, pp.153f.: After publication of Luke and John in 1882, Ross must have heard such criticism on the style of his books, but kept to this principle. He says, "Yet though every Korean scholar should laugh at the simplicity of a book in his native tongue, the language which every woman in Korea can read is the language for the Bible". It is interesting to see that this principle is one of the guidelines of modern Bible translation: "In certain situations the speech of women should have priority over the speech of man". (Nida, E. A. & Taber, C. R., *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1969, p.32. At some points, we may find that the principles of Ross are quite similar to those of Nida.)

⁵⁶ Ross, "Corean New Testament", *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, no.14, 1883, pp.491-7. (quoted from Grayson, JRKFM, p.209.)

usage. In order to achieve more accurate translation, Ross changed the style of speech. For instance, in Korean the direct use of the second personal pronoun, "thou" or "you", to a superior is extremely disrespectful. Especially, therefore, when "thou" refers to God or Jesus, it should be changed into the indirect mode of speech. In this case, Ross uses "Father" for God, "Lord" or "Teacher" for Jesus, or repeats "God" and "Jesus". Ross thinks that this change is essential to accurate translation of meaning.

(5) Change the form of sentence to preserve the content of the message. An absolutely literal translation may sometimes mislead the reader concerning the original meaning. Ross gives as an example the literal translation from Chinese of the end of Romans 5:9 & 10 was read by Korean translators as, "How can we escape punishment?" --- "How can we be saved?"⁵⁷ because of an Chinese interrogative "ho"(呼). When this word is translated into Korean, it often produces an interrogative sentence. This kind of question form in Korean renders the reverse of the meaning. In this kind of case, Ross changes the form of sentences, such as, "How shall we not escape punishment?"⁵⁸

(6) Use the nearest approximation to Greek names. In the first edition of Luke, Ross followed the pronunciation of the Chinese transliteration of Greek names, e.g. Yeloosalung for

⁵⁷ Greek and English texts of these verses are not interrogative sentences. The Revised Version reads, "Much more than, being now justified by his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath of God through him.... shall we be saved by his life."

⁵⁸ Ross gives some more examples in Romans 6:9, 7:20 & 23. He sees that this problem is caused by the differences in the use of the particles. (Ross, CNT; in Grayson, JRKFM, p.211f.)

Jerusalem, Jiabainoong for Capernaum, and Yabailaham for Abraham. But he was aware that the flexibility of Korean can admit of a very near approximation to Greek names, and decided to represent Greek names as nearly as possible in Korean, such as Ab-ra-ham, Yeroosalem, and Kapernam.⁵⁹ He believed that acquaintance with the Scriptures would make Koreans familiar with all the strange names.

(7) Retain Greek terms. "Baptism" and "Sabbath" were translated as "Wash Rite" and "Rest Day" in the Chinese Bible. Ross thinks that these Chinese terms would not render their theological meanings. These Greek terms have therefore been retained in Korean, such as "baptim-ye" (Baptism Rite) and "sabat-il" (Sabbath Day). But on the other hand, "Pascha" has been translated into "numnun-jul" (Passover season), with an explanation at the end of the first edition of Luke and John.⁶⁰

(8) Keep certain Chinese technical terms. Ross uses Chinese terms relating to time, money, weights, and many of the technical terms in the translation. Although Korea had a different way of counting (not a different numbering system), Chinese measuring systems were universally known in Korea. So Ross keeps the

⁵⁹ Ross even suggests to Japanese literati that they should consider using Korean for the Japanese transliteration of Greek names instead of adopting Roman letters. He says, "In Corean they have a simple phonetic alphabet which if I am not greatly mistaken they [Japanese] would find to be exactly what they are in quest of. Infinitely better it certainly would be than the adoption of the inconstant Roman letter, and it will tax their ingenuity and ability to create its equal." (Ross, CNT; in Grayson, JRKFM, p.208)

⁶⁰ Ross added classifiers to give the reader a clue. They are ye for rite, il for day, and jul for season. For classifier, see Nida & Taber, op.cit., p.167; E.A., Nida, Toward a Science of Translating: with special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1964, p.230.

technical terms used in the Chinese Bible.

✓ (9) Theological terms. As Ross says, "one of the most important matters to be decided in every translation of the Scriptures is the names of the Deity and of spiritual subjects".⁶¹ Ross employed "hananim" for God, instead of the Chinese terms, "sangje" (上帝) or "ch'ōnju" (天主), and "sōngryōng" (聖靈) for Spirit instead of the Chinese term, "sōngsin" (聖神). But he adopted the Chinese term "ch'ōnsa" (天使) for angel. These terms are still used in the Korean Church; this proves once again Ross's contribution to the Korean Church. These matters will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

(2) Methods of Translation

With the above principles, Ross describes his basic methods of translation as follows;

A Korean scholar, --- translates carefully from the best Chinese Wunli Testament. This translation I compare rigidly, phrase by phrase and word by word, with the Greek of the Revised Version.⁶² ---- This revised copy is sent back [to Korean translators] to have a clean one made out. Then the Greek Concordance is put in requisition to obtain uniformity in the use of the words translating Greek words, so that the one most appropriate Korean word stands always, wherever practicable, for the same Greek word; the meaning, however, and the Korean idiom, are given paramount sway over the literal rendering, e.g., the Koreans have no "eye" in their needle, but they have an "ear". After this process is over, the revised translation is again, even more carefully than at first, read over with the

✓ ⁶¹ Ross, CNT; in Grayson JRKFM, p.209.

⁶² This seems to be The Greek Testament with the Revisers' Readings by E. Palmer (Oxford, 1881). It will be examined in the next chapter.

Greek. ⁶³

The same procedure was followed with each draft, until the final revision was complete. From this report, Ross's method of translation can be divided into the following three stages.

(a) The First Stage: Making a initial draft.

It is important to find out what kind of Bible was used as a standard of translation. There is no need to argue that the initial draft of the Korean New Testament was solely made from the Chinese Bible by Koreans who did not know either English or Greek. Among many Chinese versions, the Delegates' Version, which was translated by the Committee of Delegates appointed by the Protestant Missionaries in China for that purpose,⁶⁴ is likely to have been used as the standard version. "The best Chinese Wenli Testament"⁶⁵, which Ross refers to, seems to be the Delegates'

⁶³ MRUPC for 1882, p.244: This was a part of Ross's report for 1881, which seems to have been written just after he finished printing St. Luke.

⁶⁴ The delegates, who carried out the actual work of revision, were W.H. Medhurst, J. Stronach, and W.C. Milne, of the London Missionary Society, E.C. Bridgman of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, W.J. Boone of the American Episcopal Mission Board. These five delegates completed their revision on 1st August 1850, and published the entire New Testament for the use of all Protestant missionaries in China in 1852. (T.H. Darlow & H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, London, BFBS, Vol.II, 1963, p.188f.)

⁶⁵ As the Low-Wenli or Easy Wenli Testament was completed only in 1902, after Griffith John published an Easy Wenli version of St. Mark in 1883, this "best Wenli Testament" would be a High-Wenli Testament.

Version.⁶⁸

But there is another possible version that Ross may have used in his translation; that is the Northern Mandarin Version.⁶⁷ This was called "kuan-hua" (官話), which means "Peking Mandarin colloquial". As this version in "Peking Mandarin" was prepared for Manchuria and the northern provinces of China, and Ross may have used this version from the beginning of his missionary work. Although it was in the Peking dialect, it was still in a classical literary style, which many common Chinese people had difficulty in comprehending.⁶⁸ In terms of sentence structure, it still belonged to literary translation, and revealed the need for a new translation of the Bible, which was called the Easy-Wenli or Union Versions. In fact, as Ross was certainly at one time

⁶⁸ The Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture shows clearly that the first draft of Luke was made from the Delegates' Version by the Koreans.

⁶⁷ By the request of the BFBS, a committee was formed to prepare a version in Peking Mandarin in 1861. The Committee consisted of Joseph Edkins of the London Missionary Society, W. A. P. Martin of the American Presbyterian Mission (North), S. I. J. Schereschewsky of the American Church Mission, J. S. Burdon of the Church Missionary Society, and H. Blodget of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. St. John was published in 1864, and the entire New Testament appeared in 1872. (Darlow & Moule, op.cit., p.211f.)

⁶⁸ Marshall Broomhall classifies this Peking Mandarin New Testament as the People's Bible, different from the Wenli (Delegates' Version). He says that, almost immediately after it was published in 1872, in one half of the Empire, it "supplanted the Wenli, in the family, in the class-room, in the street-chapel, and in the Church services. --- The style is vigorous, terse and clear. It is free, or nearly so, from localism, and is sufficiently removed from the commonplace to be dignified and reverent without being pedantic." (The Bible in China, The China Inland Mission, London, 1934; repr. by Chinese Materials Center, Inc., San Francisco, 1977, p.84)

using this Peking Mandarin Version,⁶⁹ there is also a strong possibility that, although it was not the main basic text of the translation, this version was used as a reference text. Ross also mentions "mandarin" as follows:

My mode of translation from the commencement has been to get a translation from the Chinese by a Korean scholar. Almost our translators knew mandarin as well as Wen-li. As they have been fairly intelligent men and scholars, their translations gave an exact idea of the meaning derivable by ordinary scholarship from the Chinese Scriptures, and even in this light the work has been very interesting. This translation was a first draft ---. ⁷⁰

A further reference to Chinese colloquial version says:

As Chinese classics are the only books taught in Korean Schools, the scholars are as familiar with the Chinese classics as are the Chinese themselves. The Korean scholar is therefore an adept at translating from or into Chinese classical style. Into the hand of such a scholar I put a gospel in classic Chinese style with "a copy of the colloquial". This he carefully translates into Korean, forming for me an excellent rough draft. ⁷¹

The above two quotations suggest that the Peking Mandarin Version must have been used in the translation of the Korean New Testament. One thing is clear: whatever the standard version or versions were, the initial draft of the Korean New Testament was prepared, not from the Greek or the English, but from the Chinese by Korean translators. There is no doubt that the standard sources of this Chinese New Testament were the original Greek (Byzantine text) and the English Authorized Version.

⁶⁹ I found a copy of the New Testament of this Version in the library of the NBSS, which had belonged to Ross. This copy, printed in 1898, is full of his pencil markings in Roman letters to show how to pronounce properly some of the difficult Chinese letters.

⁷⁰ Ross, CNT; in Grayson, JRKFM, p.210f.

⁷¹ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, pp.331f.

(b) The second stage: Revision using the Greek

Ross insists in his report for 1881 that he compared the first draft of translation with the Greek Revised Version (GRV). But it was chronologically impossible for him to have done so in the case of St. Luke, because that was published in the beginning of 1882. Ross says;

By the time [June 1881] I returned to Newchwang he [MacIntyre] had made the fourth translation of the New Testament. Of this I took the Gospel of Luke, and rigidly compared it, word by word, with the Revised Version, Greek and English copies of which had been forwarded to me by the kindness of Professor Legge, of Oxford. This criticized copy was handed back to Mr. Macintyre, who agreed with me in making the Revised Version our standard. ⁷²

It is clear that he refers to the Greek New Testament by Palmer. Both the Greek and English was sent to him by Professor Legge "as soon as they were in print".⁷³ But, as both Revised Versions were published no earlier than May 1881, Ross seems to have received these copies at the end of the year, by which time type of St. Luke was likely to have been already set up. Therefore, to compare the draft with the Revised Versions would be possible for the rest of the translation. In the case of the use of the Greek New Testament as the standard for translation, MacIntyre's report is more reliable than that of Ross.

The method followed was to take a Korean translation of the Chinese version, a translation got up under my own eye through my Bible class work, and from that to work up to as close a relation as possible with the original Greek. The translation may thus be said to be from the Greek as far as the end of Acts. As for the rest I have only succeeded in bringing the leading

⁷² Ross, CVNT, UPM, 1883, p.209.

⁷³ ECI-BFBS, vol.24, p.332.

words into close parallel with the Greek, and possibly I may begin on an altogether new basis should I resume the work. This work has been productive of much good.

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As this report was written after the publication of Luke, it is obvious that the initial drafts, at least up to Acts, were compared not with the GRV, but with an earlier edition of the Greek New Testament. For the same reason, the English Revised Version (ERV) could not have been used in these drafts. "New basis" may refer to the use of the GRV and the ERV as their standard versions of translation.

It is quite difficult to find evidence that the GRV and the ERV were used in the revision process. Ross gives a few Biblical references in Greek and English, to show how he translated the Greek words into Korean.⁷⁵ For instance, in certain cases such as "they laid many stripes upon them"⁷⁶, or "we bring unto you good tidings"⁷⁷, Ross insists that literal translation of these verses into Korean is impossible, or does not make sense grammatically. In these examples, it is clear that he quoted both verses from the Authorized Version.⁷⁸ Therefore, it is safe to say that the

⁷⁴ MRUPC for 1883, p.220. This report for 1881, and up to the end of March 1882, was written in Scotland when MacIntyre was on furlough.

⁷⁵ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.330.

⁷⁶ Acts 16:23; In ERV, it is "they had laid many stripes upon you". Ross translated it in Korean as "they beat them much".

⁷⁷ Acts 13:32; In ERV, it is "we bring you good tidings". In Korean, Ross thinks that it is "we preach unto you", but the actual meaning of the sentence is "we transmit to you".

⁷⁸ In other instances, Ross insists that the Korean translation is nearer the original than the English as in Acts 15:6, where *ιδειν περι* is translated in English as "to consider of", in Korean "to look about" (but the meaning of word in the Korean translation is "discuss"); *αλλοι μιν ουκ αλλο τι* of Acts

earlier edition of the Greek New Testament was used for the initial drafts, and the GRV and the ERV were used for the final drafts which were revised during the last period of translation after 1882.⁷⁹

In the second stage of this work, Ross was also helped by a Korean scholar. Ross indicates that this reviser, who had been a translator for years⁸⁰, was a different person from the first translator. In spite of his thorough knowledge of Chinese and his practice in translating, the Korean reviser was, according to Ross, not able to give an idea of the number, and frequently of the importance, of the changes to be made. This may be the most serious technical problem which Ross met in translating from beginning to the end. Ross must have had some difficulty in communicating with Koreans who were not masters of the required languages. MacIntyre seems to have resolved this problem through conducting the Bible class for Koreans. He explains this process as follows:

In the morning from seven to nine, I have the junior one (of the Korean translators) in my room, and he goes through a regular exposition of the Scriptures in

19:32 is in English "some one thing and some another", in Korean "the people not at one" (rather "general opinion not at one"); and the παρακαλεσας λογω πολλω of Acts 20:2 (In the BFBS's manuscript, αυτους is omitted after παρακαλεσας .) is in Korean "by much speech exhorted". Even from these examples, it is not clear how to identify which version he used. (cf. ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.330)

⁷⁹ For example, Ross writes "At present I am engaged in a translation of St. John's Gospel, directly from the revised Greek, based, as formerly, on the translation from the Chinese, which is, of course, frequently at fault". (Ross, CVNT, p.209) It implies that, with the GRV in his hand, Ross was revising the initial draft of John, which was made from the Chinese.

⁸⁰ MRUPC for 1882, p.244. He seems to have worked with MacIntyre during the second period of translation.

Corean before me, allowing me to stop him for explanations as often as I choose. Again, in the evening, after my day's work is over, I go over to the Coreans' room, and hear my own teacher do the same.--- During the last week we have had four Coreans present at these evening meetings besides our own two, and they have been valuable as gold to me. ⁸¹

A number of Koreans were involved in this process, and thus serious mistakes would have been avoided. This kind of work must have been much the same in the case of Ross. He confesses, "without at least one Corean scholar I would be helpless, being in this respect like those who translate western languages into Chinese, who cannot write, but who can guide, correct, and improve the native writer".⁸²

With assistance of Koreans, extensive changes from the initial drafts were made, because of "partly the difference between the Revised and former Versions [of Greek and English], partly misunderstanding the Chinese text [by Korean translators], but mainly because of the idiom used in the Chinese Version".⁸³ After comparison with the Greek and the English Bible, the initial drafts were sent back to the original translator for him to make a fresh draft of them.

From all the evidence, it appears that, although Ross insists that the GRV and the ERV were the standard texts for the Korean New Testament, he did not use the Greek and the English Revised New Testament systematically as the basis of his translation. As long as the initial draft was made from the Chinese, the Chinese Delegates' Version should be called "the

⁸¹ MRUPC for 1881, p.86.

⁸² MRUPC for 1882, p.244.

⁸³ ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.332.

standard". The GRV and the ERV were only the secondary references used in the revision.

(c) Third Stage: making the final drafts.

After having received a fresh copy of the drafts, Ross uses the Greek Concordance to obtain uniformity in the translation of Greek words. Unfortunately, he gives only a general idea of this process as follows:

This clean copy I go over again with the same second translator with even more care than the first. I then take my Greek concordance and refer to each word capable of more than one shade of thought in translation and see that each word when meaning a certain thing is always represented by a single Korean word exactly conveying that meaning. It is here that my Korean assistant is especially valuable.⁸⁴

No record shows how he used the Greek Concordance in this process, or which concordance he had. But it is clear that his only purpose of using the concordance was to enable him to choose the closest Korean equivalent word for each meaning of a given Greek word. For instance, Ross explains that the use of the concordance was "most needful in the case of synonyms as praise, bless, exalt, fear, terror, etc."⁸⁵ He seems to have used the concordance very sensitively, in order to avoid inconsistency in translating particular meanings of Greek words. Ross calls this process the "second revision", and, through this process, he was

⁸⁴ ECI-BFBS, Vol.16, p.334. In March 1882, Ross seems to have had two Korean translators. The original translator, as he calls him, should be Yi Ung-ch'an. But when John was published in the middle of 1882, he reports that he had four Korean translators. (cf. ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.177.)

⁸⁵ Ross, CNT: in Grayson, JRKFM, p.211.

able to have second drafts of the translation.⁸⁶ Reviewing all the stages gives us the outline of the method of translation that Ross set up. But the process of making a final draft was not finished yet.

After these processes were completed, Ross seems to have again, even more carefully than at first, revised the second drafts with the aid of the Greek. This kind of process must have been continued until he had confidence in the final drafts. His confidence in the Korean translation was high by the end of 1882, so that he thought of re-translating the Chinese New Testament from the Korean.⁸⁷

The results of this thorough revision have long convinced me not only that the Chinese version stands in need of amendment, but that the best accessible mode of improving it, is by a re-translation from the corrected Korean into Chinese by a competent Korean scholar. Such a scholar has turned up just as I was anxious to test the matter. I gave him several passages in Korean to translate into Chinese and am convinced that great improvements can be made in securing a more idiomatic classical Chinese version, reading more smoothly than the present, and representing the exact meaning of Scripture without the circumlocution often resorted to. I send herewith the Sermon on the Mount to Mr Dyer in Shanghai, who if he sees fit can forward it to you. It is the exact Chinese translation of the Korean, the translator having no Chinese books beside him.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.332.

⁸⁷ This is a good example of Ross's trust in his Korean co-translators, and of the importance of the Koreans' input in the translation.

⁸⁸ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.333. As this letter was dated 24th January 1883, it would appear that, at that time, he already had a strong conviction that the Korean translation was better than any of Chinese versions, and that the Korean was almost perfect. From the quotation, it is also interesting to see that he already, at this stage, had the Sermon on the Mount retranslated into Chinese from Korean, although the text of Matthew in Korean was not published until 1884.

To have such a good Korean translation, Ross and MacIntyre must have put their every effort into the work. Throughout the whole process, they seem to have used Alford's and Meyer's Commentaries.⁸⁹ A Korean-French dictionary was also used to test the correctness of the translation. When there was no standard Korean dictionary, publication of a Korean-French dictionary was good news to them. Ross confesses that he had been "indebted also to the Corean-French dictionary notwithstanding its faults of omission and commission".⁹⁰ MacIntyre also explains his feeling of that time; "My only other hope is in Japan, where the study is being prosecuted with zeal, and whither the Roman Catholic Bishop of Corea is now gone to print a French-Corean Dictionary".⁹¹ Shortly after that, MacIntyre seems to have obtained assistance from this very dictionary.⁹² Besides this dictionary, they prepared a Korean grammar and analysis of sentences, based on the Chinese Classics in the Korean translation which was published by the Royal Authority in Korea. Through every possible means, they came to have a final draft of the translations.

These three stages of translation were only parts of a single process. This process was gone through a number of times

⁸⁹ According to MacIntyre, Alford's was of little service. But Meyer's Commentary, along with the English Revised Version, was "of very great value". (MRUPC for 1882, p.244.)

⁹⁰ Ross, CNT in JRKFM, p.212. (Felix Clair Ridet, Dictionnaire Coreen Franais, Yokohama, 1880; Grammaire Coreenne, Yokohama, 1881.)

⁹¹ MRUPC for 1880, p.15.

⁹² QRNBSS, p.666.

by half a dozen Korean translators, MacIntyre, and Ross himself. For instance, Ross insists that the final draft of Luke was "either the 8th or 9th translation".⁸³ In most cases, the whole process of translation had been repeated at least four or five times, and Ross seems to have been responsible for the final draft.⁸⁴

In spite of these processes of careful revision, however, the translations still embodied a problem. This final draft was not in the standard dialect of the capital, but in the P'yŏngan dialect. Ross tried to solve the problem with the assistance of some officials who went to Moukden with the annual embassy, and ex-officials who fled from the revolt within the Korean government in 1882. As these men were of the highest literary rank, they must have been of great help to Ross in the revision work in removing the local dialect from the final draft. After this process, the final draft was now ready to print.

⁸³ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.77.

⁸⁴ The following list of manuscripts, which the BFBS library keeps, shows dates of the completion of final revision.

- (1) Acts 1-10 Chapters (first revision, Dec. 1882)
- (2) Romans (read over with compositors, 14th Aug. 1885)
- (3) 1st & 2nd Corinthians (corrected copy, 9th Oct. 1883)
- (4) Galatians (5th Oct. 1883 for print, final revision Oct. 1886)
- (5) Galatians & Philippians (Oct. 1886)
- (6) Ephesians (Aug. 1884)
- (7) Colossians (Oct. 1886)
- (8) 1st & 2nd Timothy (1885)
- (9) Hebrews (revision Oct. 1886; corrected Copy, May 1887)
- (10) 1st & 2nd Peter, John 1-3, Jude, Revelation (1887)
- (11) Revelation (final revision 1st Nov. 1886, ready for print)

These manuscripts were written by Chinese writing brush, but, judging from the fact that they have a number of pencil markings, the final draft for print seems to have been completed just before printing each book.

4. The publication and distribution of the Bible

After the Gospel of Luke was published by the NBSS at the beginning of 1882, the whole New Testament appeared through the BFBS in 1887. The story of the printing process is just as interesting as that of the translating process.

(1) Relationship with the Bible Societies

When Ross was on furlough in 1879, he brought to Scotland the drafts of the four Gospels. Ross presented a copy of Matthew to the National Bible Society of Scotland, and requested their Western Committee on 28th July 1879 to print the Scriptures. The Committee agreed to print one Gospel as an experiment.⁹⁵ In compliance with a further request from Ross who wanted to secure publication of the whole New Testament, the NBSS agreed on 26th October 1880 to provide an allowance to Ross and MacIntyre for expenses and for the payment of the Korean translators, and further to furnish type for an edition of three thousand copies of Luke and John.⁹⁶

In the meantime, the NBSS asked Ross that the two Gospels of Luke and John should be again revised before the remainder of the New Testament was issued, in order to guarantee the accuracy of the translation, because the NBSS believed that this was the best course for the improvement and perfecting of a tentative

⁹⁵ QRNBSS, Oct. 1879, p.601; ARNBSS for 1879, p.30f.

⁹⁶ WCMB-NBSS, No.7, p.184f.; cf. MRUPC for 1881, p.37. The NBSS gave £130 in total, £30 for type, £50 each for the literary expenses of Ross and MacIntyre.

edition.⁹⁷ The NBSS gave the following reason for delay of publishing the Gospels:

The delay which has occurred cannot be regretted, since it has given time for more careful revision of the MS. Four [For] several times has Mr. MacIntyre reviewed it clause by clause and word by word. The ability as well as care of the translators appears in the fact that though they had not the advantage of the Korean Dictionary and Grammar, just published in Japan by the Roman Catholic Bishop, they find no word in their version which does not appear in the dictionary, nor any apparently unidiomatic phrase. As in all new versions, improvements will doubtless continue to suggest themselves, but there seems every ground for congratulation on the accomplishment, under peculiar difficulties, of this first translation of the New Testament Scriptures from the original Greek into the tongue of Corea. ⁹⁸

Such a cautious attitude on the part of the NBSS was probably a matter of course, but Ross seems to have been anxious to have the Gospels published immediately. In order to prove the accuracy of the translation, Ross sent to Scotland in September 1881 four pages of a printed catechism containing a summary of Bible doctrine. At this time, he also reported that he was printing a tract drawn up by MacIntyre which served as a preface to the Gospel of Luke. Although he considered these two specimens of printing as "comparatively unimportant works to ensure accuracy in the Gospels", Ross thought that this kind of work would be necessary for "dexterous and correct manipulation, and for the perfect accuracy".⁹⁹ In this way, Ross tried to prove the level of accuracy and to have a definite promise of the NBSS

⁹⁷. WCMB-NBSS, No.7, pp.96 & 105.

⁹⁸. ARNBSS for 1881, p.32.

⁹⁹ These two specimens were the first Christian works printed in Korean using removable metallic type. (MRUPC for 1882, p.34)

to print the whole New Testament, but the NBSS hesitated to give a positive answer and continued to insist on making a tentative edition.

Another reason for the delay was because of the economic recession of the time. According to Ross, as the NBSS had "suffered from the general depression, they could not undertake the whole work", but provided only £130 for type and literary expenses for the Gospels of Luke and John.¹⁰⁰ From the following statement of the NBSS, Ross seems to have felt that the NBSS could not carry out the Korean work: "It is agreed that the present issue of the version be limited to a tentative edition of the Gospels of Luke and John, --- that this £130 shall be the limit of its responsibility."¹⁰¹ As Ross wanted to have a concrete guarantee for publication of the whole New Testament, it is not surprising that he withdrew his application for aid from the NBSS in June 1880.

At the same time, Ross had entered into relations with the

¹⁰⁰ MRUPC for 1881, p.37: It is interesting to note other sources of the funds which Ross raised for the Korean work, up to February 1881. (1) Robert Arthington of Leeds, who had long been interested in Korea as a new mission field and provided a large sum of money for Ross's second visit to the Korean Gate (MRUPC for 1877, p.355), gave £35 for the purchase of a printing press and papers for printing 3,000 copies of the Gospel of Luke and John. (2) The minister of the Free High Church, Elgin, £1.15s., the proceeds of an "Orphan Girls'" Concert, as the first donation for the Korean version. (3) A Glasgow lady had promised to provide half the salary for five years of the first Korean evangelist whom MacIntyre had chosen from the Korean converts. (4) A gentleman in Dundee sent £7 as the other half of the first year's salary. Besides these, the Rev. Thomas Dobbie of Lansdowne sent 10s.

¹⁰¹ This is a part of the Minute of the Korean Version Committee on 26th October 1880 (WCMB-NBSS, No.7, p.184). This was again confirmed at the same Committee on 22nd November 1880 (ibid., p.198): cf. ECI-BFBS, Vol.15, p.176.

✓ British and Foreign Bible Society for publication of the whole New Testament. His movement caused a tug-of-war between the NBSS and the BFBS about printing the Korean version. The BFBS's interest in the Korean version began long before Ross entered into correspondence with them on 8th and 23rd June 1880; in fact, in August 1879, MacIntyre presented the same MSS. which Ross offered to the NBSS, through Dyer, the BFBS agent in Shanghai. But, at this point, the BFBS recognized a "prior right" of the NBSS to take up the work, and wished them "speed in carrying it" out.¹⁰² In Ross's letter to Dr. Wm. Wright, Secretary of the BFBS, on 23rd June 1880, he stated clearly that he had "formally and finally" withdrawn his application to the NBSS, because he thought that they could not carry out efficiently the work at that time. He went on:

My great desire is to have the work of printing into Corean well done. And I now take advantage of your former kind offer and ask your Society to undertake this work; for I know that your Society is not only willing to efficiently execute works of so important a nature as this; but also to do so without causing the translator who has given and is willing to give time and care to his part of the work, any unnecessary trouble in calling upon him to incur any expense necessary for the proper execution of the work. ¹⁰³

It is obvious that his reason for shifting from the NBSS to the BFBS was a matter of continuous aid for publication. In a reply to Ross on 26th July 1880, the BFBS also asked about the

¹⁰² Editorial Correspondence of the BFBS - Outward (hereafter ECO-BFBS) for 1877-1882, Box No.5, p.199 (letter to Ross on 12th May 1880): At the same time, Dr. William Wright, the secretary of the BFBS, wrote the Rev. W. J. Slowan, the secretary of the NBSS, that they were ready to undertake the work if for any reason the NBSS should not see their way to do so. (According to this letter, Ross seems to have already asked for their support.)

¹⁰³ ECI-BFBS, Vol.15, p.84f.

excellence and accuracy of the translation, but their attitude to the translation was different from that of the NBSS, both in terms of the translation and of the expense of printing:

We do not expect absolute perfection in the first editions, but we insist on the best that can be done. Please express fully your view on what you consider possible as to the making of the text more perfect before taking the work to press. I should also like an account of the expenses thus for which you would expect this Society to pay and all details as to preparations for printing which you would require to make in this country. ¹⁰⁴

The BFBS further admitted that "all first editions are defective".¹⁰⁵ Ross's desire to complete publication of the whole New Testament, and for continuing assistance to the Korean translators, resulted in his choosing the BFBS as the publisher of the Korean New Testament. Most welcome news was a decision of the BFBS in September 1880:

The Committee resolved that Mr Ross and his colleague be encouraged to proceed with a thorough revision of their version of the New Testament, with a view to the printing of that version by this society, provided the NBSS relinquish their prior claim to carry out the work. ¹⁰⁶

As Ross had already raised funds for the printing of the entire translation by the end of 1880,¹⁰⁷ the financial question

¹⁰⁴ ECO-BFBS, Box No.5, p.211. (letter to Ross on 26th July 1880)

¹⁰⁵ ECO-BFBS, Box No.5, p.214 (letter to Ross on 26th August 1880). Like the NBSS, the BFBS also thought that the first edition would be tentative, and they confirmed that it would be a first step, but only a first step.

¹⁰⁶ ECO-BFBS, Box No.5, p.216 (letter to Ross on 7th September 1880).

¹⁰⁷ ARNBSS for 1880, p.33: Ross had been provided with means and promises of support by a number of private persons for printing the Korean version.(cf. ECI-BFBS, Vol.15, p.175; cf. note 100.)

may not have been the real reason why Ross entered into relation with the BFBS. However, this matter had taken over two years to be finally settled, when the NBSS decided to hand over the Korean work to BFBS on 24th July 1882.[✓] The BFBS tried to maintain cordial relations with the NBSS along with the other Bible societies.

Another reason for slow progress, presumably, was the imperfect nature of the translation. Although the BFBS admitted that all first editions were defective, it did not mean that they would be content with any quality of translation. In fact, the BFBS already knew something of the nature of the Korean version when Ross began to make contact with them. Dr. Wright's letters of 26th July and of 26th August 1880, mentioned that someone who knew something of Korea expressed grave doubt as to the wisdom of publishing a Korean version at that time.¹⁰⁸ Wright also had other information about the translation from MacIntyre. He quoted MacIntyre's words in the same letter:

In a year's time, if spared, I hope to be able to correct any serious blunders in translation. My own idea is to work up Korean thoroughly till I can translate direct from the Greek.¹⁰⁹

[✓]As MacIntyre, the co-translator, admitted further that he was only learning Korean at that time, it would be natural that the BFBS should take precautions against possible defects in the translation. Therefore the BFBS came to suggest that Ross should do joint revision with MacIntyre and the Korean translators when

¹⁰⁸ According to his expression "a missionary who knows something of Corea called on me", "a missionary of your own Church". This must be Alexander Williamson who was on furlough. (ECO-BFBS, Box No.5, p.211, 214)

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

he returned to Yingk'ou. The BFBS did not want the Korean work to be done in a hurry.

(2) The publication of the Bible

When Ross returned to Manchuria from Scotland in June 1881, the Korean alphabet had not yet been cut in metallic type. Korean compositors had cut wood types and sent them to Japan, where metal types were cast. Type for these Gospels was selected in Japan by Lilley the NBSS agent, and sent to Yingk'ou in the autumn of 1881.¹¹⁰ With a Korean type setter and two Chinese printers, Ross published three thousand copies of the Gospel of Luke at the beginning of 1882. The same number of John was also completed in the spring.¹¹¹ These Gospels of Luke and John, which were published by the NBSS, were the first Scriptures ever printed in Korean.

At the point of publication of Luke, the BFBS learned something of the nature of the translation, and expressed their opinion: "Ross' version is not likely to be perfect, but it may

¹¹⁰ ARNBSS for 1881, p.32; QRNBSS, Oct. 1881, p.678; The wood types must have been cut and sent under the supervision of MacIntyre in 1880. (WCMB-NBSS, No.6, p.44, & 91 : cf. WCMB-NBSS, No.7, p.386)

¹¹¹ As Ross wrote to Dr. Wright on 6th June 1882, "some time ago I sent you a copy of John's Gospel in Corean", it would have been appeared no later than in May (ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.45). The place of printing of the Gospels of Luke and John has been officially recorded as Moukden, but these books seem to have been printed in Newchwang, as Ross says "in Newchwang my chief work was the revision, translation, and printing of the Gospels in Corean" (MRUPC for 1882, p.244). The rest must have been printed in Moukden.

be useful, and it may be a step toward perfection".¹¹² They suggested Ross should have sent copies of Luke to Korean scholars for their criticism. But Ross thought that the criticisms of Korean scholars were of almost no value, because they regarded hangul as a vulgar script, believing that Chinese was the only written language for scholarship.¹¹³ Criticism of the translation would centre on the provincialism of the language used in Luke. Nevertheless, he admitted that the first edition of Luke was not perfect, as it had several idiomatic mistakes. In excuse of its defects, he wrote to both Arthington and the BFBS as follows:

The Gospel of John I am printing differently from that of Luke. The latter is virtually the version of my colleague Rev. John MacIntyre who spent much time and care upon it when I was in my native land. It is entirely "without"¹¹⁴ form of Corean spoken in the West of Corea which however is understood in all the land. John's Gospel there translated entirely anew and there are printing 2,000 copies in Western Corean and 1,000 in the form prevailing in the capital. This I think must be the final form of all our printing.¹¹⁵

In a letter to the BFBS on 9th October 1882, he said that Luke was a revision of the translation of MacIntyre, and, to satisfy him, it was printed wholly in the dialect of Western Korea. As a translation of the Bible cannot be for personal

✓¹¹² ECO-BFBS, Vol.1, p.308 (letter to Mr Muirhead of Shanghai, on 20th September 1882).

¹¹³ cf. ECI-BFBS, Vol.18, p.153 (22nd July 1883): This is quite different from his previous statement that "the criticisms on which I lay most emphasis are those coming or to come from Corean scholars". (ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.45; 6th June 1882)

¹¹⁴ This is a part of Ross's letter (to Arthington on 24th March 1882) quoted by Arthington in his letter to the BFBS on 21st September 1882: As Luke was in the form of north-western dialect, "without" should be read as "with". It seems to be a mistake by Arthington or the Editor of the correspondence.

¹¹⁵ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.78.

pleasure, his saying that the language used was "to satisfy MacIntyre" was an excuse for the alleged provincialism of the translation. Since neither Ross nor MacIntyre yet had a good command of Korean, it also would be unfair to ascertain who translated which book. For the same reason, the extent of the difference of the translation of John seems to have been exaggerated by Ross. In fact, John also had been revised at least four times by MacIntyre, while Ross was in Scotland. Therefore, the new aspects of the translation must relate to removal of provincialisms or Chinese idioms, or correction of mistakes in idiom from the last draft of John prepared by MacIntyre.

Whether or not the final draft of John was entirely a new translation, it was published in the spring of 1882. But the question arises why Ross printed 2,000 copies in P'yŏngan dialect and 1,000 in that of the capital, if he considered that in the capital's dialect as "the final form" of all printing.¹¹⁶ As Ross agreed with the NBSS that one third of the 3,000 copies of Luke and John would be placed at the disposal of the NBSS in acknowledgement of the aid granted on 26th October 1880, the 1,000 copies in the capital's dialect may have been aimed at the southern Korea and the capital.¹¹⁷ But why was this not done for

¹¹⁶ cf. ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.177 (9th October 1882). According to Darlow & Moule's Historical Catalogue, 1,000 copies of John appeared in the dialect of the capital in 1883. But the above quotation note 114 indicates that it was printing in March 1882. And in his letter on 6th June 1882, he indicated that John had already been published.

¹¹⁷ WCMB-NBSS, No.7, p.186. Ross wrote to Arthington on 17th February 1882, "I promised to send 1,000 copies of Luke and 1,000 of John to their agent in Japan to introduce into Southern Korea where the capital is situated. This can be done by means of the Japanese who here trade with Korea. The remaining 2,000 copies of each we shall introduce into Western Korea where the work is

Luke, but only for John? Probably Ross was only able to have the assistance of Koreans from the capital after the publication of Luke.¹¹⁸

Towards the end of June 1882, Luke was being revised again, and Matthew and Mark were ready for printing in the language of the capital. Ross thus asked the BFBS and Arthington for their instructions. Arthington suggested that it would be best to test the printed Luke "first, extensively or fully", and understood that Ross wanted to have all the Gospels or the entire New Testament published at once. He offered Ross £50 towards the cost of translating Acts, on condition that it should be bound with Luke, as the two books together formed the account of the Lord's work by the same writer.¹¹⁹ The BFBS agreed fully with Arthington's proposal, as they thought that Luke and Acts in one portion would "give the Korean a comprehensive view of the life and passion of our blessed Lord, and also of the history of the Church", and instructed Ross to implement this.¹²⁰ In January

already widely published and where it will be warmly welcomed." (ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.75)

¹¹⁸ In all his correspondence, the mention of a man from the capital appeared after the publication of Luke. One of the earliest records is his letter to the BFBS on 6th June 1882, and it says; "Just the Sabbath before leaving Newchwang for this city (Moukden) I baptized a man belonging to the capital, whose ancestors were Mandarins and whose relations are some of them Mandarins there. He talks and writes the court language thoroughly. I intend to keep him here as long as I can for the purpose of revising criticisms and, if needful, changing the work of my two translators. (ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.46; cf.p.74)

¹¹⁹ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.74 & 79 (21st September 1882).

¹²⁰ ECO-BFBS, Vol.1, p.378 (letter to Ross on 21st November 1882). In a letter to Arthington on 22nd September 1882, Wright replied, "I have no doubt the Committee will add the Acts of the Apostles to the other book of the Sacred Writings. We have already published St.Luke and the Acts in English, and the two

1883, therefore, Ross made a new version of Luke in which he tried to omit "all the remnants of Chinese idiom left in the first edition", comparing with the Greek Concordance "to test the proper expressions".¹²¹ Through this process, 3,000 copies of Luke and Acts were eventually published in July 1883.¹²²

Although there is no further correspondence about the printing procedure, it is probable that a similar procedure was used for the 5,000 copies of Matthew and of Mark were published in 1884. Before the whole Gospels were completed, Ross wished that an Epistle - Romans or 1st Corinthians or Galatians - should be bound with Matthew or Mark, on the ground that "an Epistle would explain the subject of the Gospel, the Gospel would illustrate the basis of the Epistle".¹²³ As his proposal was accepted, 5,000 copies of a new edition of John with Ephesians was published in 1885. Finally, as 5,000 copies of the whole New Testament were published in 1887, Ross's efforts for ten years were rewarded with the completion of the first Korean New Testament. Although his efforts to make a Korean Bible had come to an end, it was the beginning of his Korean work in terms of God's mission. Now, the problem was how to distribute the Bible

Books should be more frequently associated as giving a view of our Lord's life and passion, and also of the work of His disciples in laying broad and deep the foundation of the Christian Church"(cf. p.311).

¹²¹ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.294 (9th February 1883).

¹²² ECI-BFBS, Vol.18, p.153 (22nd July 1883); cf. op.cit., p.85f.(11th June 1883). Besides printing Scriptures, at this time, Ross seems to have printed some Christian tracts under the auspices of the Religious Book and Tract Society. He reported that the printing Acts had been completed and Luke was in process.

¹²³ ECI-BFBS, Vol.18, p.175 (29th September 1883); Vol.19, p.87 (10th March, 1884).

in Korea, which in 1882 was still inaccessible from the outside.

(3) The distribution of the Bible

Almost at the same time as the first edition of the Gospel of Luke and John in Korean was published in 1882, America signed a treaty with Korea. One can see it as providential, and that "the obdurate Korean Gate would become an open door",¹²⁴ but the result did not come up to expectations till 1884. When Ross wrote to Arthington on 24th March 1882 just after the publication of Luke, he had some idea how to distribute the new gospels. He said:

I should much like if you send on £50 to cover cost of John's Gospel. If you so desire it, £10 or £12 more might be sent to engage a member as colporteur and within the year 6,000 copies of the gospel would be circulating and preaching in as many centres throughout the length of the land from our shores to those of Japan. From what the Coreans tell me, I believe that though having to distribute in secret, the sales would cover travelling expenses. ¹²⁵

As Ross observed, the distribution of the Bible would have to be done "in secret". It also implies that the Bible would be smuggled into Korea from Manchuria or Japan. The distribution of the Bible among Koreans was carried out in various ways from Japan, in Manchuria, and from Manchuria.

¹²⁴ QRNBSS, Oct., 1882, p.718.

¹²⁵ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.76f.

(a) From Japan

Having agreed with the NBSS, in the summer of 1882, Ross sent 1,000 copies each of Luke and John to J.A. Thomson, the NBSS agent and missionary of the U.P. Church in Japan with a view to introducing them into Korea.¹²⁶ The NBSS had not only printed the first part of the Scriptures in Korean, but had also appointed the first full-time agent to be stationed in Korea. The agent was ✓ a Japanese Christian, Nagasaka, who had been previously employed in the NBSS depot in Tokyo. In June 1883, he arrived, with a large supply of Scriptures, in Pusan, which was one of three open ports for the Japanese since a treaty with Japan in February 1876. It is said that he distributed and sold Bibles in Chinese and Japanese, and portions of the Gospels and tracts in Korean which Ross had sent to Japan. The Rev. Hugh Waddle of Japan explained how Nagasaka arrived in Pusan as follows:

Mr Nagasaka reached Corea in rather a novel method, for the ship that bore him from his own country and landed him safely on the shores of the country he was about to invade with the artillery of heaven was none other than a Japanese man-of-war. Truly never was ship of war better employed; and let us hope that this incident may be the omen of a peaceful future for these sister kingdoms. Well will it be for both, if the ships of war ever bear with them, even unawares, this blessed messenger of peace and goodwill toward men.¹²⁷

It would be true to say that Nagasaka came to Korea as the messenger of peace and goodwill. But, from the Korean side, it

¹²⁶ ARNBSS for 1882, p.35; WCMB, No.8, p.63f.; For the agreement, WCMB, No.7, p.184f.; cf. ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.177 (In his letter on 9th October 1882, Ross mentioned that he had already sent them to Yokohama, and did not know how or when they were to be introduced into Korea.)

¹²⁷ MRUPC for 1884, p.158.

might have been seen differently. As Stephen Neill saw, the memories of the Japanese invasion of the sixteenth century had never quite died away.¹²⁸ Even at that time, the Japanese treated Koreans very badly. Koreans began to be aware of the onward march of Japan and the increasing interference of the Japanese in their internal affairs. In these circumstances, his arrival by warship may have been seen not as the coming of a messenger of peace, but as a Japanese invader. It could conceivably have had an effect on the distribution of Bibles.

In 1884 Thomson visited Korea from Japan with his wife, who became the first white woman to enter Korea.¹²⁹ He left behind him a sub-agent, Sugano, and his wife, Miura, who helped to circulate Scriptures.¹³⁰ The NBSS seems to have seen Korea as a promising mission field, as they requested Ross for 1,000 copies of each portion to be printed for distribution in southern Korea in 1883.¹³¹ It was reported that Sugano had distributed 1,155 copies of Luke and John in 1885, and 1,250 copies in 1886.¹³²

¹²⁸ Neill, S., *Colonialism and Christian Missions*, Lutterworth Press, London, 1966, p.214.

¹²⁹ Thomson, J. A., "A visit to Corea", *QRNBSS*, Oct. 1884, pp.798-802; Jan. 1885, pp.806-808: In this article, he observed that, unlike the Japanese, Koreans were rude to foreigners and were rude amongst themselves, and he quoted an incident to show how badly the Japanese treated Koreans.

¹³⁰ Thomson and his wife revisited Korea in July of 1885 and extended their journey as far north as Seoul, where they met the newly arrived American missionaries. Sugano died in Pusan in 1887 and Miura was dismissed from her post in 1890. (*ARNBSS* for 1887, p.39; for 1890, p.37)

¹³¹ *ECI-BFBS*, Vol.18, p.175 (29th September 1883): There is no record of whether Ross sent his version to them.

¹³² *ARNBSS* for 1885, p.42; for 1886, p.46; Judging from the fact that there were no more reports on Scripture circulation until 1895, Ross version seems not to have been available.

After exhaustion of their stock of the Ross Version, the NBSS seems to have distributed Chinese Bibles and another Korean version of the four Gospels and Acts, which was translated in Japan by Yi Su-jǒng and published by the BFBS in 1884, and Mark, which was published by the American Bible Society in 1885.¹³³ When Ross read this version, he criticized it as follows:

I have read a great deal of a translation being made in Japan. Specimens have been sent me of the Gospels and Acts. It is not a translation, but the Chinese literary version given with diacritical marks. Though these marks are not always correctly used, I don't see that they can do much harm as they are placed beside the text. At the same time this "Version" leaves matters exactly where they were. To a good Chinese scholar they are of little or no value, as he could make them for himself, while to a poor scholar, or to the nine tenths of the population who know not Chinese, nothing can be of any service which is not written in their own language. ¹³⁴

In the sense that this version was not meant for the common people, but for the educated people, Ross's criticism was quite right. For the literary Korean at that time, such a translation would have been needless. Therefore, to what extent the diffusion of the Gospel by the NBSS had been successful cannot be determined. However, every bit of their effort was a further preparation of the ground for the foundation of the Korean Church.

¹³³ The name of the translator has been known in the West as "Ye Suchon", "Ri Sou-tjjen", or "Rijutei" in Japanese. This is an edition in "Sino-Korean" ("Chino-Korean" in the BFBS's catalogue) that the style of sentences is in Chinese with Korean endings, and certain arbitrary Chinese characters were printed at the side. It is difficult to justify calling it a translation.

¹³⁴ ECI-BFBS, Vol.20, p.144f. (8th March 1885)

(b) In Manchuria

The distribution of Bibles in Manchuria was carried out in two ways, among Koreans in Manchuria and Koreans visiting Manchuria. The work among Koreans in Manchuria was typically carried out by Kim Ch'ōng-song, who had worked as compositor. In the spring of 1882 just after Luke was published, Kim turned the printing work over to others and was sent with a number of copies of the Gospel of Luke to his friends in Korean valleys to act as a colporteur. The valleys were those on the Manchurian side of the frontier, but largely peopled by emigrants from Korea. As a result of his six months' labour, many people expressed a desire to become Christian. Kim returned to Moukden and reported to Ross, urging him to come to baptize these people. Ross hardly credited this story, but gave him fresh bundles of Gospels and tracts to carry to other valleys. He came back before long with the same story, and his tale was soon to receive corroboration. When Ross visited the Korean Valleys in December 1884 he baptized 75 men in only four valleys out of twenty-eight.¹³⁵ Such success on the part of Kim Ch'ōng-song was a typical example of the Korean mission done through the distribution of Scriptures in Manchuria.

The other method was to distribute the Scriptures to Koreans who visited Manchuria. Ross knew the Korean Embassy always passed Moukden when they came to pay tribute to the

¹³⁵ For his account in detail, see Clark, A.D., A History of the Church in Korea, CLSK, Seoul, 1971, p.84; MRUPC for 1885, p.325; for 1890, p.187; Ross, CDK, p.243f. When Ross revisited there in 1885, he found there was serious persecution by the Chinese, and, therefore, he was able to baptize only fourteen men.

Chinese Imperial Court in Peking four times every year, and he used these occasions to distribute the Scriptures to the Korean government officials, even to the traders who accompanied with the Embassy.¹³⁶ But this method was rather occasional. More regular work was done by operating Bible classes. For instance, MacIntyre organized an evening meeting of Koreans for translation purposes in 1880. Through this class, MacIntyre was able to have more than 30 Koreans under instruction.¹³⁷ Although most Koreans came to Yingk'ou in the way of trade, they seem to have attended the Bible class of their own free will. MacIntyre was in the hope of using the Bible class to distribute the Scriptures:

The Corean work has gone on as before, and there seems a good opening in the seaport here (Newchwang) for extensive work amongst them. I was informed lately by a gentleman who himself reads with a Corean teacher, that as many as nine hundred Coreans entered this place during the year 1881. Here, then, is an opportunity for the resident missionary; and once the Corean Scriptures are in circulation, these occasional visitors to the port will do much toward their distribution. ¹³⁸

His expectation was realized when the first edition of Luke was published, as many Koreans, from Korea or other places in Manchuria, came to Ross and MacIntyre to learn Christianity or to get the Scriptures. The fact that they came of their own will indicates that this way of distribution must have been successful in terms of introducing the Word of God.

¹³⁶ For instance, Ross wrote, "the translator in Mookden had 200 (copies of Luke and John) left him to give to the Corean Embassy which passes in a few days through Mookden from Peking". (ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.338; 2nd April 1883).

¹³⁷ MRUPC for 1881, p.270.

¹³⁸ MRUPC for 1882, p.243.

(c) From Manchuria

A ~~more~~ positive way of distribution was, of course, to use Korean colporteurs or evangelists. Ross had several Koreans as colporteurs or evangelists in Korea. The following quotation shows how Ross began his distribution work in 1882.

I have sent many hundreds by Koreans, converts or friends who were delighted to take them. ---Three days ago I sent away by a colporteur 500 gospels and as many tracts, the latter being provided by the Religious Book and Tract Society. --- The colporteur mentioned above is the first Korean convert, who translated Luke with me several years ago and ended the translation by a request for baptism. I was afraid of him for a time, but he is long re-established in good conduct. --- He can travel all over the country, but is to begin his sales in Yichow (Uiju),---. There is already an evangelist there and quite an eager desire for the Scriptures from curiosity mainly, as they are long aware that this translation is going on. ¹³⁹

This colporteur, whom Ross sent off on 6th October 1882, must be the first one sent to Korea, and, according to the context, he seems to be Yi Ung-ch'an who was "long re-established in good conduct". The evangelist in Uiju must be Paek Hong-chun who was employed by MacIntyre. Both men had worked for Ross, as teacher, translator, or compositor. Now they were working as colporteurs. Ross also sent a Korean as a second colporteur to the city of P'yŏngyang on 22nd May 1883.¹⁴⁰ He took 700 copies of John and 237 of Luke for his work, and 300 copies of John and 100 of Luke for Sŏ Sang-nyun.¹⁴¹ In this way, most of

¹³⁹ ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, pp.177ff. (9th October, 1882)

¹⁴⁰ ECI-BFBS, Vol.18, p.84 (11th June 1883). Unfortunately, it is difficult to identify who the second colporteur was.

¹⁴¹ As Ross described him as "another of our members now preaching the gospel to his friends in the capital", this well connected member with Ross must be Sŏ. (ibid. p.85)

the 3,000 copies of Luke and John seem to have been in Korea or on the way to Korea by the middle of 1883.

But, as the law prohibiting Christianity had not been removed, the only way to bring the Scriptures into Korea had to be by smuggling. Paek Hong-chun, who had travelled frequently between Manchuria and Korea, came to Ross to get some copies of Gospels in the summer 1883, and brought unpleasant news:

A Korean member visiting me last year, I sent away with a few dozen gospels and other Christian books. He was apprehended and thrown into prison for a month, though afterwards liberated without further enquiry, but his books were all burnt by order of the Mandarin on the ground that they contained "impious" doctrine.¹⁴²

This story shows clearly the situation of Korea at that time. On one occasion, Paek also, who brought this story, had been imprisoned because of his profession of Christian faith. It happened in the following way. In 1880, MacIntyre made up a parcel of Chinese Scriptures, with Christian and scientific books for Koreans. Unfortunately the parcel was intercepted at Customs, all the letters in the parcel were opened and the names and whereabouts of his two teachers were discovered. Thus Paek was immediately imprisoned. He was released after three months' confinement on the ground that he was not a Roman Catholic.¹⁴³

¹⁴² ECI-BFBS, Vol.18, p.85. The word "impious" refers to the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, which was at this time banned in Korea. As the Korean Catholics refused to practice ancestor worship, their doctrine was interpreted as being impious.

¹⁴³ MRUPC for 1883, p.220 (cf. for 1881, p.271): Paek (Hong-chun) was the only Korean person whom MacIntyre named in his report. His name began to appear as a native evangelist "Bai" or "Pai" in the report after 1884. (MFMC-UPC for 1884, appendix p.50: "Corean agent Pai" seems to mean that the Board approved him as a native evangelist. He was probably chosen as a Korean evangelist as early as 1880). Bai or Pai is the Chinese way of pronouncing Paek (白).

A similar incident can be seen in the case of Sō Sang-nyun. At the request of Ross in 1882, Sō was sent as the first colporteur of the BFBS in Korea at the end of 1882. Ross gave him a stock of Gospels and tracts with instructions to make his way to Seoul. When the forbidden Scriptures were discovered at the Customs barriers, he was put in prison on the Korean border. Fortunately, one of the officials in charge of the prison was his distant relative and arranged for him to escape, whereupon he managed to get to his native city, Uiju. However, under those circumstances he could not stay there as it was too near the border. Having a few copies of the Gospels, therefore, he set out for Seoul. When Ross heard this news, he sent him a large number of Gospels through von Mölendorff of the Korean Customs and, with these, he was able to carry on active evangelistic work.¹⁴⁴ He settled in Sorae in Hwanghae Province, and continued to come and go to Seoul as evangelist as well as colporteur. Although Ross thought that he was qualified to act not as a preacher but as a good colporteur,¹⁴⁵ in 1883 he wrote to Ross that there were thirteen of his friends who wished to receive baptism and be formed into a Christian church. Next year he wrote again that there were seventy-nine persons ready for baptism. He asked Ross to come to baptize them, but Ross, unfortunately, was unable to

¹⁴⁴ Clark, A.D., *op.cit.*, p.86; According to a report on Bible circulation by the BFBS, 7,588 portions in 1884, 3,907 portions in 1885, 4,197 including 4 Chinese Bibles and 212 Chinese New Testaments in 1886, were sold in Korea by the BFBS. Among them, 200 Chinese Wenli New Testaments were sold by Sō. (Annual Report of the BFBS -hereafter ARBFBS- for 1887, p.272)

¹⁴⁵ ARBFBS for 1883, p.187.

do so.¹⁴⁶ But the Ross Version and the efforts of his colporteurs had produced marvellous results, which will be examined in the last chapter, and helped to lay the foundation of the Korean Church. An American missionary, H.G. Underwood, witnessed the result of distribution of the Ross Version as follows: "Applications for baptism are coming to Seoul to-day by the hundreds from all parts of the land where copies of the gospel have been distributed."¹⁴⁷

5. The Ross Version abandoned by the early missionaries

Almost at the same time as the publication of Ross's New Testament on 11th April 1887,¹⁴⁸ missionaries in Korea formed a "Permanent Bible Committee" for a new translation of the Bible, because they felt that the Ross Version was imperfect and full of expressions representing local dialect. They tried to revise the Ross Version in the speech of the capital, but found that the only solution was a totally new translation. In 1893, therefore, the Committee was reorganized into a "Permanent Executive Bible

¹⁴⁶ MRUPC for 1890, p.188.

¹⁴⁷ Underwood's letter from Seoul, Dec.23rd. 1888 (MRW, Vol.2, No.4, April, 1889, p.289): quoted from Paik, op.cit., p.141.

¹⁴⁸ By this time, there were only two missionary societies established at the end of 1884, American Presbyterian Mission (North), and American Methodist Episcopal Church (Northern Methodist). In 1889, the Australian Presbyterian Mission and the Anglican Mission (S.P.G.) were founded.

Committee",¹⁴⁹ and, in 1900, a new edition of the New Testament was published by this Committee. The Old Testament was completed in 1911. This, with the New Testament of 1900, is called the Authorized Korean Version. It was revised many times until the so-called Revised Version was completed in 1938. The final form of the Revised Korean Version was published in 1956, but this was the same version with only orthographical and grammatical corrections made according to the standard rules of Korean orthography adopted by the Republic of Korea Government in 1948. Most Korean Churches use this Revised Version, in spite of a New Translation of the New Testament in 1967, a Union Translation of the New Testament in 1971, and a Union Translation of the Bible in 1977.¹⁵⁰

When the Korean Bible Committee was preparing the New Translation of the New Testament in the early 1960s, Richard Rutt, a liaison member for the BFBS, expressed his opinion that "the best piece of translation work so far done in Korean was Ross's".¹⁵¹ His judgement was focused on how far the above translations, including various private translations, were intelligible to the people. If his judgement was right, the Ross Version, although the early missionaries in Korea abandoned its

¹⁴⁹ The Committee appointed the translating committee called "the Board of Official Translators". The first meeting of the Board was held on 11th October 1893.

¹⁵⁰ Union Translation means a common translation with the Catholic Church.

¹⁵¹ Rutt, Richard, "Concerning the New Testament of the Korean Bible", Technical Papers for the Bible Translator, Vol.15, No.2, April, 1964, p.82. He also takes account of whether it is "difficult to read aloud so as to be easily understood by the hearer".

use in the church, cannot be looked on simply as the first Korean Bible. It may still deserve to be called the best translation. Before analyzing the Ross Version linguistically and theologically, it is necessary to look into the question of why the missionaries did not want its use in the church.

(1) The major criticism of the Ross Version

Since the publication of Luke in 1882, the provincialism of the translated language had been a major criticism of the Ross Version both by Korean scholars and the early missionaries. Ross was also aware of the problem and tried to adopt the spelling of the capital dialect in the later editions.¹⁵² However, his attempt seems not to have been successful, as this kind of work could be done only when Ross had the assistance of Korean scholars from the capital, and he was not able to keep any Koreans from the capital with him for a long period. This means that it was impossible to remove all the dialectical influences of the P'yŏngan dialect. It may be a weak point of the Ross Version that people of other provinces would have had some difficulty in understanding certain words of the Ross Version. Rev. W.D. Reynolds, one of the principal translators and missionaries of the Southern Presbyterian Mission of the USA, gives reasons for abandoning the Ross Version as follows.

It is due Dr. Ross to say that he made an effort to "remove all the Chinese expressions which had disfigured the first edition", but he was handicapped

¹⁵² In his letter to the BFBS on 6th June 1882, Ross promises, "all my translations henceforth are to be in the language of the capital". (ECI-BFBS, Vol.17, p.46.)

by having to work from the Chinese instead of the Korean side. When the attempt to correct the Ross Version was made by a committee of missionaries within the country in 1889, they were definitely limited to correcting spelling, and two years' time was practically thrown away. The trouble was not so much with the spelling as with the words used and stilted style, obscure renderings and archaic type of the book. Hence after correcting Luke and Romans and republishing them in 1890, the task was abandoned and the Ross Version laid on the shelf.¹⁵³

Even in the 1970s, a view of the Ross Version could be published which is the same as that of Reynolds.

Ross completed the New Testament, in 1887. However, it was soon apparent that this was only a stop-gap translation, better than nothing, but already badly in need of revision, and that something had to be done. Underwood and Appenzeller had barely arrived in Korea before they found it necessary to attempt improvements in the Ross and Yi Su Jǒng versions. The Ross New Testament is available, today, as a facsimile edition, but any modern reader is amazed at the stilted form of the language used and cannot help wondering how those who read it could understand it. There is no doubt that it was clear enough to carry conviction to many readers and lead them to Christ, but it was done so rapidly and under such difficult circumstances that improvements were immediately in order.¹⁵⁴

It is obvious that the early missionaries devalued the Ross

¹⁵³ W.D. Reynolds, "Fifty Years of Bible Translation and Revision", *The Korea Mission Field* (hereafter KMF), Vol.31, June (part I: pp.116-118) & July (part II: pp.153-155), 1935, p.116. In other article, Reynolds also says:

"The Ross and Rijutei Versions were of necessity almost wholly the work of Korean scholars translating from Chinese and Japanese Scriptures, without adequate revision by a foreigner versed in both the original and Korean. However grateful we must always feel for these pioneer translations, the stilted style, abounding in Chinese derivatives and provincial expressions, with frequent errors, obscure renderings, queer spellings and archaic type, caused the early missionaries to resolve to make a new translation rather than waste time patching up the old.": Reynolds, "The Contribution of the Bible Societies to the Christianization of Korea", KMF, vol.12, No.5, May, 1916, (pp.126-129), p.127. (Rijutei is the Japanese pronunciation of Yi Su-chǒng.)

¹⁵⁴ Clark, Allen D., *A History of the Church in Korea*, The Christian Literature Society of Korea; (1st ed. 1971), 3rd revised ed. 1986, p.151.

Version, partly because they believed that the version was translated almost wholly by Koreans. But that is not to say that the translation is defective or inferior. Although Reynolds did not give an example to support the above two statements, we may summarize the major criticisms of the Ross Version as follows: (1) the Ross Version did not use the dialect of the capital; (2) it contained a few Chinese expressions; (3) it gave ambiguous renderings in many places. These points will be examined in detail in the next section analyzing certain texts of the Ross Version, but it is necessary to look into the background of these criticisms.

(2) The Ross Version and the dialect of the capital.

This criticism rests on an undeniable fact. But the questions which arise are "was the Ross Version really unintelligible to the people of other provinces?", and "did Reynolds have a good enough knowledge of Korean to criticize the Ross Version?" Reynolds arrived in Korea in November 1892, and began his translation work in 1895. At that time he was hardly in a position to criticize the Ross Version, and by that time the early missionaries had already decided to abandon it. Therefore, his statement is a summary of the opinions of other missionaries in his circle. Unfortunately, there are only the fragmentary or indirect sources that indicate why the early missionaries tried to make a new version of the Bible.

For instance, in the summer of 1887, a private edition of Mark was printed in Korean by the NBSS. This tentative edition

was prepared by two of the earliest missionaries, H.G. Underwood of the Northern Presbyterian Mission of the USA, and H.G. Appenzeller of the American Methodist Episcopal Church (North). It is interesting to see that when they arrived in Korea on 5th April 1885, they brought with them copies of St. Mark translated by Yi Su-chōng in Japan and published by the American Bible Society in 1885. When they were staying in Japan, they met Yi and began to learn Korean from him.¹⁵⁵ From these facts, it is hard to believe that they began to translate the Bible simply because of the imperfections of the Ross Version, and, "a little over a year after" their arrival in Korea, published St. Mark. The implication is that from the beginning of their mission in Korea they intended to have their own translation rather than use another.

On 22nd June 1888, Rev. E. Bryant, agent of the BFBS in Tientsin, presented to the Bible Society a long report of his visit to Korea, that contains some correspondence between himself and Underwood and Appenzeller in relation to a new translation of the Bible. According to this report, Underwood seems to have said that the Ross Version was "useless", and "was utterly unintelligible to the people", because of its provincialisms.¹⁵⁶ After his examination of both the Ross Version and their own version of Mark, with the help of Appenzeller's colporteur, Bryant found that the Ross Version was much more intelligible and acceptable to the people, and replied to Underwood;

¹⁵⁵ Underwood, Lillias H., Underwood of Korea, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York & London, 1918, p.38.

¹⁵⁶ ECI-BFBS, Vol.24, p.16.

I was...convinced that your views were to some extent a mistake. I am now more convinced than ever that you were then mistaken. I know that in the province of Pyongan and elsewhere it [Ross Version] is intelligible; though of course, like any version that will ever be made, it requires some attention in the reading of it, in order to understand it. This is the case with all translations of the Scriptures made into the language of heathen people.¹⁵⁷

For this reason, Bryant suggested that the BFBS should postpone any decision on the publication of the proposed new translation of the Bible by the missionaries in Korea. It is clear that the purpose of his examination was not to support the Ross Version, but to inquire further about the possibilities of using the proposed new translation by the missionaries in Korea. However, he made an important point that any version requires "some attention in reading of it" for a clear understanding of the text. The Ross Version is not an exception to the rule. With some attention to this, the P'yŏngan dialect in the Ross Version was quite easily understood by the people of that time, and indeed still is at the present day.

On the contrary, although Bryant seems to have been impressed by the Ross Version, he eventually supported the proposed new translation by the Korean missionaries. His reasons for the postponement of publishing the new translation were, firstly, to give the Ross Version time for "a fair trial";¹⁵⁸ secondly, to make a "far better" version than the Ross Version,

¹⁵⁷ ECI-BFBS, Vol.24, p.16

¹⁵⁸ According to Bryant, Appenzeller confessed that "such a trial had not yet been given to that version by them as missionaries". ECI-BFBS, Vol.24, p.14.

by giving the missionaries enough time for studying Korean¹⁵⁹; thirdly, to avoid having "two rival versions at once" in Korea,¹⁶⁰ as Bryant did not want to repeat what had happened in China, and he was also seeking a union of work involving the three Bible societies, The American Bible Society, The British and Foreign Bible Society, and The National Bible Society of Scotland. In October 1888, the BFBS temporarily resolved this matter by supporting the Korean missionaries, on condition of conjoint work with the other two Societies, because, it seems, the BFBS did not want to lose their initiative in Korea. From this point, the fate of the Ross Version was in the hands of Korean missionaries, and it began to be virtually abandoned without fair trial in the field a little over a year after its publication. It is fair to say that the abandonment of the Ross Version was not because of defects in the translation, but because of outside factors. This may be shown by the following quotation of a letter that Bryant received from Appenzeller at the end of October 1888.

I have read and examined with some care, Mr Ross's translation of John, and part of his Epistles. Without exception, the men here criticize the spelling. It is too phonetic. In some instances the meaning is changed....

But as to the faithfulness of the translation, I bear testimony that it is good. I speak of John only. I am pleased with it. In one place, a whole verse is omitted - clearly an oversight. It can and must be improved; but if we can correct the spelling, it can be used for

¹⁵⁹ ECI-BFBS, vol.24, p.17: At that time, Bryant felt that the Korean missionaries, except Underwood, were "unquestionably incompetent for such an important work", and continued, "even in the case of Mr Underwood two or three years more study of the native literature would materially improve his linguistic qualification for such a work as translating the Word of God".

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.18.

some time I am sure. The brethren here do not agree with me in this view, but I cannot help that. I believe Mr Ross has done us a good service in translating the New Testament, and it will be several years before we can hope to do much better. There is no crying need as the literary men prefer the Chinese. The women and coolie class however have use for Unmun [i.e. vernacular] books. ¹⁶¹

As we can see here, the Ross Version was not unworthy of use in the field. When Appenzeller wrote this letter to Bryant, he had already translated St. Mark with Underwood, and organized the Permanent Bible Committee for the new translation. Appenzeller's statement that, although the Ross Version had a lot of defects in spelling, and some defects in the translation itself, his own translation had not yet reached the same standard, was a very honest and valuable assessment of the Ross Version. From its first undertaking the Korean work, the BFBS did not expect to have a "perfect" translation, but intended to improve its quality by means of revision. It is clear that the Ross Version was intelligible to the people, and, after the orthographical changes, could be used to a certain extent in provinces other than P'yŏngyang.

(3) Chinese expressions in the Ross Version

The missionary criticism of the Ross Version shows clearly that the majority of people with whom the early missionaries had had contact, or had aimed for, belonged to the middle or upper middle class. As Appenzeller observed "the literary men preferred Chinese" to Korean. One may suspect that this kind of criticism

¹⁶¹ ECI-BFBS, Vol.24 p.210 (quote from a letter of Bryant on 4th December 1888)

came from the side of Korean middle class people. But since Ross's aim for his translation was to reach the women and the common people, the lack of Chinese expressions should be regarded as one of the strong points of the Ross Version, because the lesser use of Chinese expressions made it easier for the common people to understand.

However, Underwood had a different view on this matter. His reason for rejecting the Ross Version was that it had too many Chinese expressions. He says:

While Messrs. Ross and McIntyre had translated and published the whole New Testament, we found that there were too many words of Chinese derivation in this version to make it suitable for use at the capital or in the southern provinces. Though it might be of much service in the extreme north and among the thousands of emigrants who had settled across the Chinese border, there were altogether too many Chinese words and derivatives, not only for the common people, but even for the educated, at least for the capital and south of it, and so a new translation had to be undertaken. ¹⁶²

In this statement, "too many Chinese words" was the only criticism, the only reason given for the abandonment of the Ross Version. His statement was not only contrary to that of Appenzeller, but also shows his total misunderstanding of the situation. Educated people may have wanted to have many Chinese expressions in the Ross Version. But according to Appenzeller, the lack of Chinese expressions was in fact one of the criticisms of the Ross Version. Of course, in the Ross Version there are a few Chinese words difficult to understand, even for the educated. It seems that, when Ross and his Korean translators could not find proper Korean words for certain terms, they just borrowed

¹⁶² Underwood, Horace G., *The Call of Korea*, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York & London, 1908, p.135.

Chinese words from the Chinese Bible. Although those borrowed words might be difficult to understand even for the educated, they were not really a serious obstacle. The difficulty in understanding the Chinese terms would have been caused less by the degree of difficulty of words themselves, than by the fact that the Ross Version did not use any Chinese characters. Therefore, the statement of Underwood is really misleading. It is surprising to see that Underwood, the most experienced missionary in Korean culture and language at that time, could be so wrong in his observation of the Korean situation.

As we have now seen, neither Appenzeller nor Underwood was correct in their criticisms concerning the Chinese expressions in the Ross Version.

(4) The obscure renderings in the Ross Version

Unfortunately, Reynolds did not give any example or explanation when he said that the early missionaries had much trouble in their revision of the Ross Version "with the words used and the stilted style, obscure renderings and archaic type of the book"¹⁶³. We do not know what Reynolds means by "the words used" in the Ross Version. If he meant that some of the words in the Ross Version were of the P'yŏngan dialect, misspelt, in difficult Chinese, or archaic, in such cases, they could easily have been corrected by simple orthographical changes.

Appenzeller complains that Ross's use of dialect produces

¹⁶³ Reynolds, "Fifty Years of Bible Translation and Revision", KMF, vol.31, 1935, p.116.

the equivalent of saying, "He titched him" instead of "He touched him".¹⁶⁴ Appenzeller seems to give this as an example of the Ross Version being "too phonetic". However, this would appear to be a misunderstanding arising from the phonetic spelling of the P'yŏngan dialect. Without an actual sentence in Korean, it is difficult to be certain, but, if we suppose that the above example is a real case, "titched" cannot be simply a phonetic spelling of "touched". As Han'gŭl is an absolutely phonetic script, it would be understood everywhere in Korea, though a phonetic spelling in the P'yŏngan dialect would cause some difficulty in understanding to the people of the other provinces. This kind of example, if there are any such, could also have been quite simply corrected.

As for the "stilted style" used in the Ross Version, it does not cause misunderstanding of the meaning. The examples of stilted style particularly affects use of the personal pronoun and the verb. The usage of pronoun and verb varies according to the social position of the other party addressed. It is generally divided into three forms: to the superior, to the equal, and to the inferior. For instance, as Ross points out, the direct use of the second personal pronoun, such as "thou" or "you" in English, to the superior or strangers, is regarded as disrespectful in the extreme.¹⁶⁵ The stilted style has to be used in writing and speech, and this rule is much more strict in case of direct designation. As Ross always tried to represent the real sense in the form of idiomatic Korean, he had to avoid strict literal

¹⁶⁴ ECI-BFBS, vol.24, p.210.

¹⁶⁵ Ross, CNT, (JRKFM, p.209)

translation in some places, and to choose the stilted forms of designation and verb. It makes the Ross Version much more natural and idiomatic.

As regards criticism of the "archaic type" of the book, if Reynolds meant that the book was typeset without spaces between words, this may indeed have caused some difficulty in understanding. For instance, it is possible to write a sentence without spaces between words: "a-bõ-ji-ga-pang-e-dūr-õ-ga-sinda". One can read this as "abõjiga pange tūl~okasinda, which means "Father goes into the room", or as "abõji kabange tūr~ogasinda"¹⁶⁸, which means "Father goes into the bag". Although this is a kind of children's joke, it illustrates well the importance of the spaces between words. But, with some attention and common sense, one cannot misread any sentences of the Ross Version in the same way. Therefore, this matter is also simple speculation.

Again, although Reynolds states that the Ross Version has some ambiguous renderings, he does not give a single example of this, so it is impossible to say how many ambiguous renderings he identified in the Version. In 1890 when criticism of the Ross Version by the early missionaries increased, Ross wrote to one of them asking him to send a list of inaccurate translations and unidiomatic renderings. There seems to have been no reply from

¹⁶⁸ In both sentences, "abõji" (father) and "tūr~ogasinda" (go in or enter) is a basic structure. As subjective compliment, the first sentence has "pang" (room) + "e" (to), the second "kabang" (bag) + "e". In abõji-"ga" of the first sentence, "ga" is the nominative particle. But this particle can hardly come with the superior, father. In addition, as this statement obviously addresses the action of father, honorific form of verb is followed the subject. "Tūrõgasinda" is the honorific form of "dūrõgada".

the missionary.¹⁶⁷ Probably, there was no need to reply, because, by that time, they had already decided not to revise the Ross Version.¹⁶⁸ However, as Ross expected, the list of the defects- if there was a reply - would not be large. If all the elements such as provincial dialects, archaic and misspelled words, stilted style and archaic type of the book, were combined at the same time, there might be a lot of ambiguous renderings. But firm reasons for the charges made against the Ross Version have not been found. According to the correspondence between the BFBS and various people during that time, the BFBS also seem not to have found good reasons for objection to the Ross Version. It looks as though the Ross Version was abandoned, not because of the quality of translation, but because of other reasons. With some attention in reading, the Ross Version could have been understood everywhere; it only needed a simple revision and orthographical changes.

(5) The final decision of the Bible Society

In spite of the provisional decision to support the request of the Korean missionaries in 1888, the BFBS did not immediately give up the possibility of using the Ross Version. The committee's reasons were;

- 1) Because they have good evidence that Ross's version, however defective it may be, is to a certain extent

¹⁶⁷ In a letter to the BFBS on 22nd November 1890, Ross indicated that he wrote to the Korean missionary three months ago asking the list of defects. (ECI-BFBS, vol.27, p.79)

¹⁶⁸ ECO-BFBS, vol.4, p.903 : In a letter of Mr Bryant on 3rd July 1890, he indicated that the Korean missionaries resolved it.

understood by the people;

2) That Mr Ross is now on his way to make further inquiries on the subject, and

3) That there is little likelihood that the new version to which you [Mr Dyer of Shanghai] refer being better than Ross's, as it has been made by men less experienced in Korean than Mr Ross. ¹⁶⁹

When, at the end of September 1887, Ross visited Korea at the request of the American missionaries, his purpose was to consult with them regarding a new version. It is not known what was discussed and how deeply he discussed the new translation with them. Probably Ross insisted on a simple revision of his version rather than a new version. The BFBS also desired that "somehow or other a joint revision should be carried out, taking Ross's version as the basis of the work".¹⁷⁰ At the request of the BFBS, St. Luke and Romans of the Ross Version were revised by two members of the Permanent Bible Committee and published in Seoul in 1890.¹⁷¹

After publication of these editions, Underwood had to leave Korea owing to his wife's breakdown. It meant that the new translation work had to be delayed until Underwood returned, because he was the most experienced missionary. On this occasion, Bryant wrote to the BFBS;

I am not sorry that the translation work of our brethren will be delayed a few years. Our version now will have a fair chance, and I am told that other brethren are beginning to look more favourably on it.... A considerable number of our Luke and Romans

¹⁶⁹ This is a part of letter to Mr Dyer from the BFBS, when they declined to circulate the new version by the Korean missionaries. (ECO-BFBS, vol.3, 17th November 1887, p.500)

¹⁷⁰ A letter to Bryant on 6th February 1889. (ECO-BFBS, vol.4, p.134)

¹⁷¹ Those two members would be H.G. Underwood and H.G. Appenzeller.

printed at Seoul with the orthographic corrections made there, have been disseminated by the missionaries; in this respect, the book distribution for the last year has been more encouraging than anything I have had to report from Seoul before. ¹⁷²

Although Bryant felt sympathy for the suffering of the Underwood family, he did not feel sorry that the new translation would be delayed, because the BFBS desired that the new version should be far better than the Ross Version, and, for this purpose, a delay of few years would mean that the missionaries would be more competent in Korean. As we can learn from the above statement, his observation on the prospects of the Ross Version was very positive.

In October 1890, however, when the BFBS confirmed that they would cooperate in the new version according to the decision by the Korean missionaries not to revise the Ross Version, Bryant's hope for the Ross Version was finally set aside. The last hope of the BFBS was only that the Ross Version would "be used to some extent as the basis of the new one".¹⁷³ At the same time, Ross tried to defend his Version and to offer his labour in the revision work. But he seems never to have had a reply from the BFBS. This means that the BFBS's decision of 1890 was the final one for the revision.¹⁷⁴ Although there was no publication of the

¹⁷² Letter from Bryant on 25th April 1891. In this letter, he reported that Dr. W.B. Scranton of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, one of five members of the translation committee, had gone to America in February, and the Underwood family also left Korea at the beginning of April. (ECI-BFBS, vol.27, p.333.)

¹⁷³ Letter to Bryant on 14th October 1890. ECO-BFBS, vol.4, 904.

¹⁷⁴ According to the Editorial Correspondence of the BFBS, there is no correspondence between him and the BFBS after 1891. His last two letters dated on 4th & 22nd November 1890, and, by

Ross Version after 1890, a formal decision to discontinue printing the Ross Version was made in January 1893. The background of this decision was:

The objections to Mr Ross's Version have been increasing in number and specific gravity for a considerable time. We have no interest whatever in the propagation of an inferior version, or of making it better, ... I am of opinion that there must be good ground for the charges made against Ross's version. They are not new, and I am also of opinion that it would be wise for the brethren in Korea to work from the basis of Ross's version in any new work undertaken.

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This final decision was taken after the BFBS had grave reports, from Dyer and Kenmure on 18th November 1892, as to the value of the Ross Version. This decision seems to have been brought home to Ross himself; at the end of 1892, he printed an edition of 5,000 copies of St. Matthew without the consent of the BFBS.¹⁷⁶ The BFBS was obviously seeking what was "best for missionaries" rather than for the Korean. The Ross Version was finally abandoned.

the last letter to him on 13th February 1890, there is no more correspondence found. Judging from this fact, his relationship with the BFBS came to end at that time.

¹⁷⁵ Letter to Dyer on 19th January 1893. ECO-BFBS, vol.6, pp.415f.

¹⁷⁶ Ross seems to have also proposed to print 5,000 copies of St. Luke. (ECO-BFBS, vol.6, p.415)

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE ROSS VERSION

1. The basis of the Ross Version

I have argued in the previous chapter that the basis of the Ross Version was neither the Revised Version nor the Greek Text of the Revisers. The first draft of the Ross Version was made from the Chinese Delegates' Version, whose basis was the English Authorized Version and a Byzantine Text of the Greek New Testament, although Ross insists that his version was "the first translation based upon the Revised Version copies of the Greek and English".¹ For the same reason, along with "Peking Mandarin" version, the Chinese Wen-li New Testament (or Delegates' Version) must be regarded as one of the standard texts of the translation. But as these versions were based upon the Authorized Version, it will be necessary to identify which Greek and English versions Ross used as the basis of his translation. The Gospel of Luke of the Ross Version is the most suitable Scripture for this purpose, because, after the first edition of Luke in 1882, it was the most often revised; first revision in 1883, in 1887, and finally in 1890.² The other reason to choose Luke is that, at the time of the first publication of Luke in 1882, Ross would not have had enough time for comparison with the Revised Version. This implies

¹ ECI-BFBS, vol.24, p.332 (letter from Ross on 28th March, 1889). The basis of the revision of the Delegates' Version was Textus Receptus (Broomhall M., The Bible in China, p.63).

² Hereafter these will be called Luke-82, Luke-83, Luke-87, and Luke-90.

that Luke-82 must be based upon the Authorized Version.

Since the structure of the Korean language differs from those of Greek and English, and even that of Chinese, it is quite difficult to present a comparative analysis of the structure or style of sentences in Korean and the other languages. Therefore, it would be sensible to look into typical differences between the Authorized and the Revised Versions in Greek and English: firstly, differences in the actual text; secondly, differences in personal pronouns. Through this process, we may come to certain conclusions about which version Ross used in his translation.

(1) The differences in the actual text

When Ross wrote to the BFBS to explain his principles of translation, he states clearly that he "left out all words, clauses or sentences omitted in the Revised Version and adopted its reading".³ There are exceptions in the story of the woman taken in adultery and the conclusion of Mark. The text adopted by the Revised Version omitted John 7:53-8:11, and Mark 16:9-20, but Ross keeps both in his translation. On this matter, the BFBS reminded him that to keep both in his Version was quite contrary to the rules and practices of the BFBS, and recommended him "to follow any of the readings in the Revisers' Greek Text".⁴ In fact, the RV did not omit those passages, but placed them in brackets. The BFBS thus does not seem to have objected to Ross

³ ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.331 (his letter on 24 January 1883).

⁴ ECO-BFBS, vol.1, p.557 (letter to Ross on 31st May 1883).

inserting these passages, but blamed him that, without prior permission, he departed "from the ordinary rule in this case".⁵ Ross seems to have followed the rule that "no passage can be omitted" from the RV,⁶ from Luke-83 onwards. But, in the case of Luke-82, it is interesting to see that some of passages were based on the RV text, some on the AV text. The following table will show how much of Luke-82 was based on the AV text.⁷

<TABLE 1> COMPARATIVE TEXT

	Luke-82	Ref.
1:20	thou shalt be dumb, and not able to speak	AV
1:28	Blessed art thou among women	AV
1:37	For with God nothing shall be impossible	AV
1:64	praised God	*
2: 9	the Angel of Lord came upon them	AV
2:37b	served (God) with fastings	*
2:38	she gave thanks likewise unto the Lord	*
4: 4	(but by every word of God)	RV
4:41	Thou art (Christ) the Son of God	RV
5:39	The old is better	AV
6:10	his hand was restored whole as the other.	AV
6:16	the brother of James	AV

⁵ ECO-BFBS, vol.1, p.754 (letter to Ross on 8th November, 1883).

⁶ ECO-BFBS, vol.1, p.557.

⁷ The passages in Table 1 have been taken from those where there are big differences between the AV and the RV. In this table, I avoid using the Korean characters, but all the passages were rendered the exact meanings in Luke-82. The symbol "(...)" refers to the words omitted in Luke-82, and "*" refers to the passages which are more like the AV than the RV.

6:37	forgive, and ye shall be forgiven	AV
7:28	John the Baptist	AV
9:10	went aside privately into a desert place	AV
9:35	This is my beloved Son, hear him.	AV
9:54	even as Elias did	AV
9:55b -56	(and said, Ye know not what manner spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.)	RV
10:30	thieves (also v.36, 19:46, 22:52)	AV
10:39	sat at Jesus' feet	AV
11:2-4	(which art in heaven)...(Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth)...(but deliver us from evil)	RV
13: 4	they were sinners above all men	AV
17: 7	feeding cattle	AV
17:36	Two men shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.	AV
21: 8	I am Christ	AV
23:17	(For of necessity he must release one unto them at the Feast)	RV
23:38	(in the letter of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew,)	RV

Among the above 27 passages, only six follow the RV. It means that, although the RV was an influence on the translation, Luke-82 was originally translated from the AV. These passages may be divided into four groups, when they are compared with Luke-83.

(a) In three passages (1:28, 9:54, 17:36) where Luke-82 follows the AV reading in omitting the whole or part of the verse, Luke-83 coincides with the RV reading.

(b) In four passages (4:4,41, 9:55b-56, 11:2-4, 23:17,38), some words or verses of the AV reading are omitted in Luke-82

following the RV reading.

(c) In Luke-82, the two passages seem to reflect the AV reading, and are not changed in Luke-83 (1:64, 2:37b-8). For instance, "praised God"⁸ of 1:64 in the AV appears in both Luke-82 and Luke-83. In the case of 2:37b-8, "(she) ... served God with fastings and prayers ... gave thanks likewise unto the Lord", the RV reads "worshipping with fastings...gave thanks unto God". As both Luke-82 and 83 omitted "God" before "served", the reading seems to follow the RV. But, as it reads "served" rather than "worshipping", the original text may have been the AV. And both read v.38 "gave thanks unto the Lord (not God)". It may indicate that this passage also is following the AV.

(d) In some places, the readings of the AV in Luke-82 never changed even in Luke-87 and 90 (1:64, 2:37, 6:16, 10:39, 13:4, 17:7). For instance, although the RV reads "the son of James" (6:16), "sat at the Lord's feet" (10:39), and "keeping sheep" (13:4), these were never adopted in the other editions. This also would indicate that the standard version of the translation was the AV.

(e) The other readings follow the AV, but are revised in Luke-83 according to the RV. The following table will show the changes.

<TABLE 2> CHANGES IN LUKE-83

1 :20	thou shall be "silent" and not able to speak
1 :37	For "no word from God" shall be void of power
2 : 9	the angel of the Lord "stood by them"

⁸ The RV reads it as "blessing God". The matter of "praise" or "bless" will be discussed in the next section.

5 :39 The old is "good".

6 :10 his hand was restored.

6 :37 "release", and ye shall be "released"

7 :28 John

9 :10 "withdrew apart to"

10:30 "robbers" (also v.36, 19:46, 22:52)

21: 8 I am "he".

When we compare the above two tables, it is obvious that Luke-83 generally follows the RV, with two exceptions found in 2:38a and 9:35. Although the RV reads "she gave thanks unto God" (2:38a), and "This is my Son, my chosen" (9:35), Luke-83 still follows the AV, and Luke-87 and 90 reads them as the RV. It may imply that they were missed in the revision of Luke-82. We may find a more interesting fact when the four editions are cross-examined.

<TABLE 3> COMPARATIVE STUDY OF VERSIONS OF ROSS'S LUKE

	Luke-82	Luke-83	Luke-87	Luke-90
1:20	AV	RV	RV	RV
1:28	AV	RV	RV	"AV"
1:37	AV	RV	RV	RV
1:64	AV	AV	AV	AV
2: 9	AV	RV	RV	RV
2:37	AV	AV	AV	*AV*
2:38	AV	AV	RV	RV
4: 4	RV	RV	RV	RV
4:41	RV	RV	RV	RV
5:39	AV	RV	RV	RV
6:10	AV	RV	RV	RV

6:16	AV	AV	AV	AV
6:37	AV	RV	RV	RV
7:28	AV	RV	RV	RV
9:10	AV	RV	RV	RV
9:35	AV	AV	RV	RV
9:54	AV	RV	RV	"AV"
9:55b-56	RV	RV	RV	"AV"
10:30,36	AV	RV	RV	RV
10:39	AV	AV	AV	AV
11:2,4	RV	RV	RV	"AV"
13:4	AV	AV	AV	AV
17:7	AV	AV	AV	AV
17:36	AV	RV	RV	"AV"
21:8	AV	RV	RV	RV
23:17	RV	RV	RV	"AV"
23:38	RV	RV	RV	RV

From this table we can see that, except in 2:38 and 9:35, there is no change between Luke 83 and 87 editions. But Luke-90, which was revised by the American missionaries, has considerable changes. The changes from the RV back to the AV are found in six places, marked by the symbol "AV". Twelve out of the 27 cases in table 3 follow the readings of the AV. It indicates that the American missionaries preferred the AV. Notably in the case of the Lord's prayer (11:2-4), the three earlier editions keep the short form of text like the RV, but Luke-90 goes back to the full form of the AV. As the texts of the AV in 9:55b-56 and 23:17 were also recovered in Luke-90, the American missionaries must have used the AV rather than the RV for the revision of Luke-90. It

may indicate that, at that time, the Americans did not like the Ross Version's habit of following the readings of the RV, although they came to use the RV as their standard of the new translation later.

A peculiarity of Luke-90 is found in 2:37-8. As v.38 reads "she gave thanks unto God", it seems to follow the RV. But as v.37 reads "served God", it looks like the text of the AV.⁹ The peculiarity is not the use of word, "God" or "the Lord", or "serve" or "worship" in the actual Korean translation. Luke-90 uses the term "sangje" (上帝) for God in v.38 instead of the term "hananim". It is very odd that the word "sangje" was used here, because it is used nowhere else in Luke-90. It is even more strange that Luke-90 uses this term immediately after the use of V "hananim" in v.37. It indicates that the Americans or their Korean helpers may have used the Chinese Bible in their revision of Luke-82, and left out "sangje" in the process of their proof-reading. Or one of the American revisers may have had a preference for "sangje" for God.¹⁰ Whatever the reasons were, it is certain that v.37 also was based on the AV readings.

Nine verses in table 3 were not changed in all four editions. Three of them follow the readings of the RV (4:4, 41, 23:38), but 6 cases follow those of the AV (1:64, 2:37, 6:16, 10:39, 13:4, 17:7). This also implies that Ross relied on the AV in his translation.

In this section, through the analysis of the actual texts, I

⁹ I have argued that this passage in Luke-82 follows the AV reading. (see Table 1 on pp.175f.)

¹⁰ This question of terms will be discussed on pp.207ff.

have tried to show that the basis of Luke-82 was the AV. If this is so, although, as we can see in the table 3, 19 out of 27 texts in Luke-83 (and 21 in Luke-87) were following the readings of the RV, the basis of both editions had to be the AV. This is the only possible result of comparison with the RV. One may argue that it is not enough to judge the basis of the translation from the analysis of a few simple examples. But we can find more concrete examples.

(2) Differences in personal pronoun

There is some difference in the genealogy of Jesus (3:23-38) between AV and RV. When we compare different names of the genealogy, it will certainly give us the concrete evidence to identify the standard version of the Ross translation. For this experimental purpose, it will be sufficient to list the names in transliteration. The Greek names will be taken from the Tischendorf edition (1850)¹¹, the Oxford Revisers' Readings (1881)¹², the Cambridge Revised Version (1881)¹³, and Westcott

¹¹ *Novum Testamentum - Graece* by Constantinus Tischendorf, Sumtibus et Typis Bernh. Tauchnitz Jun. 1850. I have used one of copies which used to belong to the United Presbyterian Library.

¹² *The Greek Testament with the readings adopted by the Revisers of the Authorized Version*, ed. by E. Palmer, Oxford, 1881. I have used a copy printed in 1894.

¹³ *The New Testament in the original Greek according to the text followed in the Authorized Version together with the variations adopted in The Revised Version*, by F. H. A. Scrivener, Cambridge, 1881. This is usually called Scrivener's edition.

and Hort's edition (1881)¹⁴. The reason for using these four editions is to find out which one was the basis of the Ross translation, and which one was the reference edition for the revision. We do not know what Greek text Ross used in his translation before he had the RV. As the Tischendorf edition was widely used at the time of Ross, it may have been the text he used. As both Oxford and Cambridge editions contain the text of the AV, and the purpose of this section is not textual criticism or a study of editions of the Greek Text, it will be sufficient to compare the above four editions. The listing of Luke-82 and 83 gives a transliteration of the actual Korean text.

<TABLE 4> DIFFERENCES IN THE GENEALOGY OF JESUS

v.	Tischen.	R.R.Oxf.	RV.Cam.	W.H.V.	Luke-82	83
23	Heli	Eli	Eli	Helei	heni	=
24	Leui	=	=	Leuei	naewi	=
	Melchi	=	=	Melchei	maelki	=
	Iannai	=	Ianna	Iannai	yannae	=
25	Esli	=	=	Eslei	yessulni	=
26	Seneῥ~n	Semeein	Seneῥ~	Semeein	saemaein	=
	Iōsēch	Ioseph	=	Iōsēch	yosyōk	=
	Iōda	=	Iuda	Iōda	yoda	yuda
27	Iōanan	=	Iōanna	Iōanan	yoanan	=
	Nēri	=	=	Nērei	neri	=
28	Addi	=	=	Addei	addi	=
	Elmadam	=	Elmōdam	Elmadam	yael- madam	=

¹⁴ The New Testament in the original Greek : The text revised by Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, Cambridge and London, Macmillan and Co. 1881.

29	Iēsou	=	Iōsē	Iēsou	yesu	yosu
30	Suneōn	=	Simeōn	Suneōn	sumon	=
	Iōnan	=	=	Iōnam	yonan	=
31	Menna	=	Menam	Menna	maenna	=
	Nathan	=	=	Natham	nadan	=
	Dauid	David	=	Daueid	dabid	=
32	Iōbēd	Obēd	=	Iōbēl	obed	=
	Salmōn	=	=	Sala	salmon	=
33	Aminadab	=	=	(Admein)	aminadab	=
	Arni	Arnei	Aram	Arnei	alnae	=
35	Eber	=	Heber	Eber	aebael	=
36	Cainam	Cainan	=	Cainam	kenan	gae -nan
37	Henōch	Enōch	=	Henōch	aenuk	=
	Iared	=	=	Iaret	yaraet	=

From this table, we can notice that the Korean pronunciation of the Greek names is "very near" to the original, but it is not an exact transliteration. As Ross insists, Korean "can represent the original perfectly in 9 out of 10" cases.¹⁵ Korean, being phonetic, can produce a wide range of the original sounds. In this sense, his transliteration is "very near" to the original. Although they are not perfect representations of the Greek names, they are near enough to compare with the other texts.

There are notable differences between the AV and the RV in v.31-33. While Westcott and Hort read "Natham"(31), "Sala"(32), and "Admin"(33), the others read them "Nathan", "Salmon", and

¹⁵ ECI-BFBS, vol.27, p.78 (his letter of 22nd Nov.1890).

"Aminadab". As Ross follows the others, the W.H. Greek Text cannot be the standard version of his translation. In the same way, the Cambridge edition reads the son of "Aram"(33), but the others read it "Arni". Therefore, the Cambridge edition also can be excluded as a possible basis for Ross. this is even clearer when we find that the Cambridge edition reads "Semei"(26), "Joanna"(27), "Menam"(31), and "Heber"(35) instead of "Semein", "Joanan", "Menna", and "Eber" in the others.

We can identify the RV to which Ross refers as the Oxford Revisers' Readings. The fact that the RV was sent to Ross by Prof. James Legge of Oxford, himself a former missionary in China, as soon as it was published in 1881, supports this identification. Even from Table 4, we can see that the Korean transliteration is very similar to the Oxford readings. But this does not mean that the Oxford edition was the basis for Ross's translation itself, because the readings of Tischendorf and that of the Oxford edition are almost the same. Only the pronunciation of certain names are slightly different. The Ross Version seems almost to have followed the RV, as it reads "Dabid"(31) instead of "Dauid" of the AV, "Obed"(32) instead of "Iobed", "Cainan"(36) instead of "Cainam", and "Enoch"(36) instead of "Henoch". But the Ross does not read "Eli" of the RV, but "Heli" of the AV in v.23. This does not seem to be a misreading of the RV, but to have been missed out in the process of revision. In other words, it is a remnant of the AV used in the earlier edition. If this is true, the basis for the translation, at least the translation of Luke-82, was the AV, and the RV was mainly used in the revision.

(3) Greek or English as the basis

I have already argued by the analysis of the texts in English, that the basis for Ross's translation of Luke was the AV. In this section, as I use some of those texts again, I will examine whether Ross depended on the Greek New Testament more than the English. Ross insists that "the Greek of the Revised Version is made the standard rather than the English".¹⁶ But when we look carefully at the examples of Table 1 with the Greek texts, we can see that he relies almost wholly on the English. Here are some examples:

<TABLE 5> COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE GREEK AND ENGLISH

	Greek	English(AV)	(RV)
1:20	siðpað	dumb (82)	to be silent (83)
1:64	eulogõn ton theon	praising (82, 83)	God blessing God
2:9	ephistēmi	to come upon (82)	to stand by (83)
2:37	latreuð	to serve God (82, 83)	to worship
6:16	Ioudan Iakōbou	Judas, brother James (82,83)	the Judas, of the son of James
6:37	apoluð	to forgive (82)	to release (83)
10:30	lēstēs	thief (82)	robber (83)
13:4	opheiletēs	sinners(82,83)	offenders
17:7	poimainō	feeding cattle (82, 83)	keeping sheep
21:8	egō eimi	I am Christ(82)	I am he.(83)

¹⁶ ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.329f.

In Table 5, the Greek clauses or words are translated differently in the AV and the RV. All words in the English AV column were translated into the exact Korean equivalent either in Luke-82 or 83, and some of the English RV column in Luke-83. Among the texts in the RV column, those that were not translated literally into Korean are "blessing God" (1:64), "to worship" (2:37), "the son of James" (6:16), "offenders" (13:4), and "keeping sheep" (17:7). As I have already explained in Table 3, these are exceptional cases where the texts never changed throughout the three revisions, the AV readings being kept. Once again, it proves that the AV was the basis for the translation.

If it is true that "an absolutely literal translation" was one of Ross' principles, that rule should have been applied here as well. For instance, 1:20 is one of examples for the literal translation of the English text into Korean. The Greek word *σιῶπαῶ* is translated "dumb" in the AV and "to be silent" in the RV. The English word "dumb" means not only the physical disability but also "to be silent". But "dumb" in Korean, which the reading of the AV was literally translated in Luke-82, means only the physical disability. This was corrected as "to be silent" in Luke-83, which was compared with the RV in the process of revision. However, as *σιῶπαῶ* has both meanings, it is difficult to see that the English version only was the basis of translation. But 2:37 shows that Ross depends heavily on the English Version. As *λατρεύῶ* means "to serve" referring to the worship of God, it can be read either "to serve" or "to worship". Although "God" was omitted in the Greek text, the English AV reads "serve God", and this was literally translated

in Korean.

In the same way, *ephistēmi* (2:9) was translated as "come upon" in Luke-82, and "stand by" in Luke-83; *apoluō* (6:37) is "to forgive" in 82, and "to release" in 83. These Greek words have several meanings or usages. But if *ephistēmi* means "to stand by" or "to appear" rather than "to come upon", and *apoluō* "to forgive" or "to pardon" rather than "to release", the readings of Luke-82 and 83 follows the uncommon usage of the Greek words according to the readings of the English Versions.

This kind of case is more evident in the rest of examples in Table 5. For instance, the general meaning of *lēstēs* (10:30, 36, 19:46, 22:52) is "robber" or "bandit". But, as the AV reads "thief", it was translated "thief" in Luke-82, and revised as "robber" in Luke-83 according to the RV. Although *eimi* in *egō eimi* (21:8) implies "Christ", its literal translation would be "I am he". But, as Ross follows the English Versions, Luke-82 reads "I am Christ", and Luke-83, "I am He". Therefore, Ross' "absolutely literal translation" was less often from the Greek than from the English Version.

2. Analysis of the Ross Version

We have seen why the Ross Version was abandoned by the American missionaries. Apparently, the reasons were closely related to the common criticisms of the Ross Version. Paradoxically, the main points of criticisms were also the Ross Version's main qualities. It is therefore appropriate to analyse

some texts with the criticisms in mind, along with the principles of translation that have been examined in the third chapter. The analysis will not be purely linguistic or theological, as its purpose is to define whether or not the Ross Version would be intelligible to the people. As the Ross Version was the first printed book in Korean, and appeared before standard orthographical rules were set up, I will not place emphasis on a grammatical or linguistic analysis.

(1) Analysis relating to the principles of the translation

It is good to recall Ross's principles of translation here.

These are, first, an absolutely literal translation compatible with the meaning of the passage and the idiom of the Korean language and second, the Greek of the Revised Version is made the standard rather than the English. My main object being an accurate and faithful representation of the sense, in the best attainable idiom, where that sense is rendered by periphrasis in Chinese I have followed the literal language of the Greek.¹⁷

His principles are difficult to understand, because no examples are given. The first principle of "absolutely literal" translation is especially ambiguous term. One of aspect of "absolutely literal" seems to be that, instead of using certain Chinese loan terms, Ross coined some new Korean words. Another aspect of "the absolutely literal translation" is the use of "the literal language of the Greek". I have already given some examples of this in the third chapter. These include "baptim-ye" for baptism instead of Chinese "wash rite"(洗禮), "sabat-il" for Sabbath instead of "rest day"(安息日), or "nōmnōn-jōl" for

¹⁷ ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.329f.(letter on 24th Jan.1883)

Passover instead of "yu-wŏl-jŏl"(逾越節). These are proper nouns transliterated from the Greek.¹⁸

However, if his main object was to represent an original sense or meaning of the Greek in idiomatic Korean, his words contain an overstatement. It would otherwise be absolutely contradictory to his other statement that "mere literal translation can never be idiomatic",¹⁹ and that translation has to represent the full sense of the original in idiomatic language. It means only that Ross gives priority to rendering the original meaning.

In this case, he gives as a typical example that he translated Luke 18:25 as "it is easier for a camel to pass through the ear of a needle", because Korean speaks not of the needle's "eye" but of its "ear". But, in the similar text of Mk.10:25, "the eye" of a needle was translated in "the hole" of a needle. As the Greek word *trēma* has a meaning of "opening" or "hole", it is not a wrong translation, but it is certainly an absolutely literal translation. In fact, the literal translation here may cause misunderstanding of the original, for "the hole of a needle" usually means "the hole made by the needle". Fortunately the expression "the hole by the needle" does not affect the actual sense of the text; but this case may well show the danger of "the absolutely literal" translation.

As I have already argued in the previous section, there is

¹⁸ Although Ross insists that "all names are transliterated from the Greek", it is doubtful whether it is true. This matter will be discussed in pp.292f. (ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.331)

¹⁹ Ross, CNT, (JRKFM, p.209).

no further need to examine the second principle, making the Greek of the Revised Version the standard of his translation.²⁰ Just one more example will show how much Ross relied on the English Version.

Greek: [(6b) kai to pneuma esti to marturoun, hoti to pneuma estin hē alētheia.] (7) hoti treis eisin hoi marturountes, (8) to pneuma, kai to hudōr, kai to haima, kai hoi treis eis to hen eisin.

English: (7) And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is the truth. (8) For there are three who bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and the three agree in one.

This is taken from 1 John 5:6b, 7-8 of the Greek, and 7-8 of the English Revised Version. All revisers of the Greek, even in the Tischendorf text, agree in this text. If Ross followed the Greek, the distribution of the Ross Version into verses would be the same as in the Greek. But it is identical with the English.²¹ Whatever theological dispute is involved in these passage as being critical text, it is certain that Ross follows the readings of the English text rather than the Greek. Thus, his second principle of translation is also seen as an overstatement. For instance, to retranslate the Ross Version text into English, gives: "the Spirit witnesses because it (the Spirit) is truth. The three that witness are the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: these three change and become one." It is

²⁰ There is of course a possibility that the Greek Version may be the standard of the translation without being the base text, in the sense that Ross may have used the Greek Version in certain cases which the AV and the RV suggest different readings.

²¹ The verse distribution of the English Authorized Version is similar to the Greek, but 5:7 is completely different: "(6b) and it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. (7) For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the holy Ghost: and these three are one. (8) And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood, and these three agree in one."

not an absolutely literal translation, but it renders the full sense of the original, perhaps more than the English Version itself. From this case, we can say that Ross's concern to render the meaning of the original takes precedence over his overstated first principle of translation.

(2) Analysis relating to the criticisms

In chapter three, we have seen the three major criticisms by the American missionaries; they were related to provincialism, Chinese expressions, and ambiguous renderings. We know that these criticisms were given as motives for rejecting the Ross Version. These criticisms were not supported by evidence, but it may still be possible that they had some basis in fact. For this reason, it is necessary to examine how these problems would have affected the intelligibility of the Ross Version.

(A) Provincialism

From the beginning of the publication of the St. Luke in 1882, the number of P'yŏngan dialect forms in the Ross Version gave rise to major criticisms. We know that the Korean Primer has the same problem. As the Korean translators came from that province, it is not surprising that the Ross Version and the Primer contain a number of those dialect forms. Ross also realized the problem of dialect, and from Luke-83 edition tried to take the capital dialect into account with help of a Korean from the capital. The following table will show the changes in

the use of dialect in Luke chapter one between the four different editions.

<TABLE 6> P'YONGAN DIALECT IN LUKE CHAPTER 1 ²²

	English	Luke-82	Luke-83	Luke-87	Luke-90
1:2	eyewit- nesses	tyõn-ha- nõn-cha	tyõn-ha- nan-cha	=	chyõn-ha- nan-cha
13	(already)	i-mu	x	x	x
15	drink	ma-si-di	ma-si-ji	=	=
16	he	te	x	x	x
17	father	a-bam	=	=	=
	the dis- obedient	gõ-sũ-lõ- din-ja	gõ-sũ-lõ- jin-ja	=	=
	wisdom	ti-hye	chi-he	=	=
18	whereby	õt-di	õt-ji	=	=
20	believe	mit-di	mit-ji	=	=
21	(holy)- temple	(syõng)dyõn	(syõng)jyõn	(syõng)dyõn =	
22	dumb	põ-bõ-ri	põng-õl-i	=	põng-õ-ri
24	hide	sum-gin-di	su-mun-ji	sum-gin-ji	sum-gin-je
27	betroth	tyõng-hon- han	(bing-mun- han)	=	=
31	call	ch'ing- hal-di-ni	(il-hom- ha-ra)	=	=

²² The English words in the table has been taken from the RV, and the Korean transcripts are translations of the English. The symbol (...) in the English column refers to cases where there are no exact equivalents because of free translation. The symbol (...) in the Korean columns is used in cases which the totally different words were used in the later editions, but to render similar meanings. An exception is 1:38; it will be mentioned later. (70) and (74) are the references for the English distribution of verses only. Because of the differences in the Korean syntax, the actual words are found in v.69 and 73 in the Ross's editions. The equal sign indicates that the text is same as in previous column. The symbol "x" means that the words in Luke-82 were omitted or no similar expressions were found.

34	(marry)	tōk-in-t'i	chōk-in-ch'i	(ch'ul-ga-ch'i)	=
36	conceive	ing-t'ae-t'i	(a-bae-ji)	=	(a-hae-bae-ji)
	in old age	nūl-na-e	=	=	nūl-kke
37	(possible)	nūng-t'i	nūng-ch'i	=	=
38	(angel)	t'yōn-sa	= (nyōng-gam)	= (gong)	= (=)
	according to (thy) word	mal-gat-t'i	mal-gat-gi-rūl	mal-gat-gi-ral	=
39	(in hill country)	san-dyung-e	(san-di-bang-e)	=	=
41	(filled)	pat-un-di-ra	(nōk-nōk-han-ji-ra)	=	=
51	scatter	he-t'i-myō	he-ch'i-go	=	=
52	put down	nae-ryō-t'i-myō	nae-ch'i-go	=	=
53	good	tyo-ūn	chyo-ūn	chyo-hūn	chyo-hūn
59	eighth day	ya-dūl-yae	(p'al-il)	=	=
60	mother	o-mam	ō-mam	=	=
63	(feel)	ne-gil-se	ne-gi-go	=	nōk-i-go
64	loosed	pul-ō-dyō	pu-rō-jyō	=	=
65	(neighbour)	nin-ni	rin-ni	=	in-ri
66	lay up	kan-tik-ha-yō	kan-chik-ha-go	=	=
66	what..?	ōt-di-ha-ri-yo	ōt-ji-ha-ri-o	=	=
68	blessed	ch'uk-syu-hal-di-ra	(ch'an-mi-hal-ji-ra)	=	=
(70)	holy prophet	net-jōk-syōn-di	syōng-syōn-ji	syōng-han-syōn-ji	=
(74)	serve	syōng-gil-di-ni	syōm-gil-ji-ni	=	=

78	because	mal-mu-ya	x	x	x
79	visit	nim-ha-yō	=	=	lin-ha -yō

One of peculiarities of the P'yōngan dialect is a matter not of meaning, but of pronunciation. It is related to the rule of palatalization. The language of the P'yōngan Province seems to have developed much more slowly than that of the capital region. Basically, *ch* and *ch'* in front of *i* used to be pronounced as *d* and *t*. It is known that this phenomenon of palatalization began to disappear in the capital region at the beginning of the 18th century.²³ According to this rule, the sound values of *tya-tyo-ti*, *t'ya-t'yo-t'i* had already changed into *cha-chō-chi*, *ch'a-ch'ō-ch'i* in the capital. But P'yōngan Province produced many different pronunciations. In the same way, the rule of alliteration, that *n*, *l*, and *r* was avoided in front of *i* and became the soundless *o*, also caused some differences in pronunciation.

Of the thirty-seven examples in Table 6, twenty-seven cases apply to the rule of palatalization, three cases to the rule of alliteration(v.63, 65, 79), and seven cases are pure local dialect forms (v.13, 17, 22, 36, 59, 60, 78). Because certain words are repeated many times, the actual number of dialect forms in Luke-82 can be easily doubled. If one judged these numbers superficially, one could say that Luke-82 would have been unintelligible to the people of the capital or the other provinces. But when we examine this matter in conjunction with

²³ Ch'oe, Tae-yōng, "ch'ogi pōnyōk sōngsō yōn'gu" (A study of the early Bible translation II), Korean Bible and national culture, kidok-kyomunsa, Seoul, 1985, p.277.

the other editions, we can realize that it is not true.

(i) The majority of dialect forms were intelligible. As Ross argues, the problem of dialect was almost corrected in Luke-83. The sound value of t(or d) and t' were changed into ch(or j) and ch' in most cases. It is reported that this work had been done by a Korean scholar from the capital. But some cases are interesting to look at carefully. In Luke-83, seven out of twenty-seven cases of the palatalization were altered (v.27, 31, 36, 38, 39, 41, 68), and one was omitted (v.16). This omission may be a mistake by the reviser, but "dyŏn-ha-nŭn-cha" (v.2)²⁴ did not change until Luke-90. In v.39 of Luke-83, "san-di-bang-e" was used for "in the hill country".²⁵ In the capital dialect form, it should be read "san-chi-bang-e". It shows that, even in the capital, there were still some remnants of the P'yŏngan dialect forms, or some words not yet affected by the process of the palatalization.

Further indications of this phenomenon in Luke-90 are "syŏng-dyŏn"²⁶ (the holy temple) in v.21 and "dyŏ-hŭn"²⁷ (good)

²⁴ The meaning of this word is "messenger" rather than eyewitness. It is not a plural but a singular form.

²⁵ The corrected form of "san-dyung-e" of Luke-82 is "san-jung-e", and its meaning is "in the mountain". That of "san-ji-bang-e" is "in the mountain region". A similar term was used in v.65: "san-dyung-e" in Luke-82, "san-e" (in the mountain) in 83, and "san-di-gyong-e" (in the boundary of the mountain) in 87 and 90. In this case, we can also see a remnant of the Pyongan dialect forms in Luke-90.

²⁶ The stand form of "syong-dyon" is "sŏng jŏn", and its literal meaning is "the holy temple". This is a compound noun of "sŏng" (holy) and "jŏn" (temple). This would be a new word at that time, but is the term for the temple in general use in the Korean Church.

²⁷ As the standard form of this word is "jo-hun", the words of Luke-83 and 87 can be considered as the capital dialect.

in v.53. These do not seem to have been mistakes by the reviser of Luke-90, who is believed to have been a man from the capital. As we can see from the changes of the orthography in Table 6, the P'yŏngan dialect form of v.21 was corrected in Luke-83, and that of v.53 was retained in both Luke-83 and 87. It indicates that the use of the P'yŏngan dialect forms in Luke-90 was not by mistake, but that some of these forms were accepted in the capital. In Luke 1, in fact, there are three places using the term for the temple: v.9, 21, and 22. In v.9, "the temple of the Lord" was literally translated "chyu-ŭi dyŏn", the others were "the holy temple". The developments of "dyŏn" in v.9 and 22 are exactly same as v.21.

One may argue that the reviser of Luke-90 simply made a mistake in correction of the dialect. But if we look at the term for "angel" in v.38, it cannot be a mistake. In v.38, "Behold, the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word", as "thy" refers to the angel Gabriel, it was translated "tyon-sa", the angel, in Luke-82.²⁸ As this word is in the colloquial style, it had been revised as a vocative, "nyŏng-gam"²⁹ in Luke-83 and "gong"³⁰ in the others. But, while Luke-82 reads "angel" as "sa-chya" in other places (v.18f. 26, 28, 30, 34f.), even

²⁸ This is another case of the use of second personal pronoun "thy". This term will be examined in the section on theological analysis later. (see p.294)

²⁹ This is a very old style, but the common term for the honorific title. As the correct form is "yong-gam", it is a case against the rule of alliteration. The literal meaning would be "elderly man", but had been often used for the vocative title of the high rank. "Your Excellency" would be the English equivalent.

³⁰ This was a very formal honorific term for "you". This title was usually related to the rank of nobility.

Luke-90 reads it "tyōn-sa". As this should be read as "ch'ōn-sa" in the capital dialect form, it is another example of palatalization being presented in the capital dialect forms. As far as the term for "angel" is concerned, it is frequently used in St. Luke, and thus no mistake can be made in such a word. This implies, again, that this kind of P'yōngan dialect form was generally understood in the capital.

In the case of the rule of alliteration, we can also see the remnants of the P'yōngan dialect. For instance, "nōk-i-go" (v.63) of Luke-90 should be read as "yō-gi-go" according to the rule of alliteration. The sound value n never changed from Luke-82. But it is interesting to see that "in-ri", neighbour, (v.65) of Luke-90 follows the alliteration rule. In fact, this term was borrowed from the Chinese Bible, and was already used in v.58. The changes of v.58 are same as v.65 in the first three editions, but that of Luke-90 is "rin-ri".³¹ This can also be interpreted as showing that both forms were in use in the capital. In the case of v.79, the sound value n of "nim-ha-yō"³² is closer to the capital pronunciation than the sound l of "lim-ha-yō" in Luke-90. It all suggests that the rule of alliteration was not settled yet, even in the capital.

(ii) Contrary to what Ross said, the reviser of Luke-83 is unlikely to have been a man from the capital. In v.34, "dōk-in-

³¹ In English, "neighbours" (perioikoi) of v.58 and "all that dwelt round about" (perioikountas) of v.65 was translated into the same word.

³² The standard form of this word is "im-ha-yō", and its literal meaning is come down as it is related to from on high.

t'i"³³ changed to "chōk-in-ch'i" in Luke-83. Here "t'i" is surely the P'yōngan dialect form, but "tōk" was obviously misunderstood as belonging to that dialect by the reviser. This sort of mistake is also found in other places.

<TABLE 7> DIALECT FORMS MISTAKEN BY REVISER

	English	Luke-82	Luke-83	Luke-87	Luke-90
2;22	present	<u>di</u> -ri-go	<u>jil</u> -i-go	=	<u>du</u> -ri -go
5:14	offer	<u>dil</u> -yo	<u>jil</u> -i-go	=	<u>du</u> -ri -go
10:- 12,14	tolerable	gyon- <u>dyom</u> - juk	gyon- <u>jyom</u> - juk	shwi-yom- juk	=
11:9	knock	ddwi- <u>din</u> - juk	ddwi- <u>jln</u> - juk	=	du- <u>da</u> - rin-juk
12:17	where bestow	to <u>di</u> -ril-got	<u>jil</u> -il-got	=	gan-jik hal-got
12:45	delay	dō- <u>di</u>	dō- <u>ji</u>	=	dō- <u>dae</u>

As we can see in Table 7,³⁴ the stems of words in the four Ross editions are very similar in 2:22, 5:14, 11:9, and 12:45. Although Luke-90 uses different terms in 10:12, 14, and 12:17, it does not mean that the words in Luke-82 were wrong translations. It indicates that the reviser of Luke-83 may not have been a native capital speaker. The reviser seems to have made the orthographical changes into the capital dialect forms, without knowing that the resultant spellings were wrong.

³³ It must be read "dūk-in-ch'i", and its literal meaning is "having a man". As "to know a man" implies "to marry", it does so.

³⁴ Some more examples are found in 11:10, 12:36, and 24:25. But the first two has the same stem of "knock" in 11:9, and the last is the same word as 12:45.

(iii) The pure P'yŏngan dialect forms would have been intelligible to the people of the capital. The examples of pure dialect forms in Table 6 are not difficult to understand. Although "i-mu" of v.13 was only used in Luke-82, there is no great difference in pronunciation between "i-mu" and the standard form, "i-mi". If a word like "mal-mu-ya" of v.78 was used alone, it might be difficult to understand. But according to the structure of the sentence it can be easily understood. Its pronunciation also is not far from that of the standard form, "mal-mi-am-a". Although "a-bam" for "father" in v.17 was regarded as P'yŏngan dialect, it was never changed. It may be just like the difference between "dad" and "daddy" in English. Similarly, "o-nam" for "mother" in v.60 hardly changed.³⁵ In the other two cases, v.22 and 36, there are small changes in their pronunciations.

The last case, v.59, is not a matter of dialect but of way of speaking. As the standard form for the "eighth day" is "yŏ-dŭl-yae", there would be absolutely no difficulty in understanding it. While this term is the native way of counting dates, the term "p'al-il" used in the other editions is the Chinese way. If the former is regarded as in colloquial style, the latter is in literary style. The literary style seems to have been preferred by the revisers, and it causes some difficulties in comprehension. It will be discussed in the next section; both "ya-dul-yae" and "p'al-il", however, are easy words to

³⁵ In Luke-82, it has been used in two more places in v.15. and 43. The other editions omit it in v.15. But Luke-90 uses an interesting term, "ŏ-na-nim", in v.43. As it was translated from "the mother of the Lord", the reviser of Luke-90 added a honorific suffix, "nim" to "ŏ-nam".

understand.

(iv) Some P'yŏngan dialect forms, however, may have caused some difficulties in understanding. As we have seen, all the P'yŏngan dialect forms in Luke 1 would be intelligible to the people of the capital. Of course, this does not mean that all the P'yŏngan dialect forms in the Ross Version were easy to understand for other people. Some nouns in Luke-82 were mainly used in the P'yŏngan region, and thus, may have caused some difficulties for people in the other regions.

<TABLE 8> SOME DIFFICULT DIALECT TERMS ³⁶

	English	Luke-82	83 & 87	Luke-90	Modern usage
3:5	hill	du-dŏn	=	dun-dŏn	ŏn-dŏk
	rough way	dol-gak- dal-i	sa-na-on- de *	hŏm-han- dae	hŏm-han- -gil
3:9	axe	tok-go	=	tok-gŭi	tok-kki
4:1	(river)	kae-gul	=	kae-ul	=
6:39	ditch	ung-t'ŏ-ri	ung-dŏ-ri	ung-dŏng-i	=
6:41f.	beam	pot-chyang	=	=	dŭl-bo
6:44	bramble bush	nŭng- chyang-i	nŭng- chyang	chin-ryŏ	chil-ryŏ
8:32f.	swine	do-ya-ji	dot-tŭ	do-ya-ji	dwae-ji
8:33	steep	dŭl-mae-gi	dŭl-ma-gi	ŏn-dŏk	=
9:5	dust	mon-chu	=	mon-chi	mŏn-chi

³⁶ In the table, the symbol "=" refers to a column being equal to the previous one. In 4:1, although the English Bible does not write the Jordan river, as it implies the "(river)", Ross seems to have added "the river" after "the Jordan". For reference, Luke-82 reads 3:3 "all the region round about Jordan River", but the others omit "river".

9:17	basket	kwang-chi	=	kwang-u-ri	=
11:43	market- place	kŏl-i	dyang-ni	chyang-ri	chang
13:8	dung	kŏl-gŭm	=	kŏ-ram	kŏ-rŭm
14:23	hedge	pa-ju	=	ul-t'a-ri	=
17:2	millstone	mang-dol	=	mae-dol	maet -dol
17:37	eagle	mang-i	syo-ro- gae	so-ro-gae	sol-gae

All the dialect forms in Table 8 are nouns. If they had occurred in isolation, some of them might have been difficult to understand. But, when they were used with other words, they would have been easily understood within their contexts. At least, something close to meaning could be guessed. From Table 8 we can also guess the degree of intelligibility of the dialects in the capital.

First of all, in most cases in the forms used in Luke-82, 83, and 87 there is only a little difference in the way of pronunciation (3:5, 9, 4:1, 6:39,³⁷ 41f., 44, 8:33, 9:5, 17, 13:8, 14:23, 17:2). Even in Luke-90, the orthographic changes in those words are not great, except in 6:44, 8:33, 14:23, 17:2. As eight out of sixteen cases are almost the same between the four editions, it means that they were used in practice in the capital.³⁸

³⁷ In 16:26, this word is used again. But it is pronounced "ung-kŏ-ri" in Luke-82, 83, and 87. Although it seems to have been used for the equivalent of "gulf" in English, "ung-dŏng-i" and "ung-kŏ-ri" is the same word in Korean. So Luke-90 reads it "ung-dŏng-i".

³⁸ Because of resemblance in the pronunciations of 11:43 and 17:37 between Luke-83, 87, and 90, we can add these dialectal words to this case. It means that two thirds of the dialectal words in the Table 8 were intelligible to the people of the

Secondly, the four exceptional cases would be the most difficult words to understand, as they are supposed to have been used solely in the P'yŏngan province. The reviser of Luke-90 was quite right to have corrected *mang-dol* to *mae-dol*(17:2), *pa-ju* to *ul-t'a-ri*(14:23), and *dŭl-ma-gi* to *ŏn-dŏk*(8:23),³⁹ but there is a problem in 6:44. The word *chin-ryŏ* of Luke-90 would also be as difficult a word as *nŭng-chyang* in the other editions. If the latter was a local word for "bramble bush", the former is in effect a scientific name borrowed from Chinese. When Chinese words are modified into Korean characters without using the Chinese ideograph, some of them are very difficult to understand. For instance, even when "rose of Sharon"⁴⁰, the national flower of Korea, is called by its scientific name, few people can recognize it. In this case, it is hard to say that the Chinese term is easier to understand than to use the local term.

The rest are complex cases needing some explanation. In 3:5, *dol-gak-da-ri* for "the rough ways" was certainly a difficult dialect form, which is believed to have been used only in the P'yŏngan region. Therefore, the reviser of Luke-83 changed it into *sa-na-on-de*, which means "the rough place", and it was again revised into *hŏm-han-de* in Luke-87.⁴¹ In 8:32, *do-ya-ji* of Luke-

capital.

³⁹ In 8:23, although the word "ŏndŏk" conveys the meaning of "steep", the other term, "pi-tal", would be the correct word for "steep". The word "ŏndŏk" used in 3:5 is the proper term for "hill".

⁴⁰ This is called "mugung-hwa" in Korean; the scientific name is *hibiscus*.

⁴¹ Both "sanaunde" and "hŏmhande" have a meaning of "the rough place", but, as the former is near to "wild", the later is the nearer equivalent to "the rough way".

82 was not in the local dialect, but it was changed into dot or dot-tū in Luke-83 and 87. Luke-90 used do-ya-ji in v.32 and dot in 33. The variations of this word in 15:15f. are almost same as that in 8:32. The only difference in 15:15f. is that Luke-90 used dot.⁴² Therefore, we may conclude that both do-ya-ji and dot were widely used in the capital. In 11:43, the word gōl-i of Luke-82 was certainly translated from the Chinese Bible, which read it as "street". It was changed into chyang-ri⁴³ in the other editions. But, judging from the fact that Luke-90 only changed its orthography from "d" to "ch", this word must also have been used in the capital. In 17:37, mang-i of Luke-82 also used in the Korean Primer, is a pure P'yōngan dialect form; and it was corrected into syo-ro-gae in Luke-83 and 87, so-ro-gae in Luke-90. Because there is no significant change in pronunciation of the words between three editions, this word is also believed to have been generally understood in the capital.

As we have already seen from Tables 6 and 7, there are a number of dialect forms in inflected words. Inflected words would be much easier to understand than nouns, because most of them are only slightly different in pronunciation from the standard. There are only a few cases where totally different characters were

⁴² In fact, the word dot also was not the dialect form, but rather an archaic word for "pig". As the Korean Primer also reads it do-yaji (CP, p.13, 27, 29), it may again show that the reviser of Luke-83 and 87 may not have been a native capital speaker.

⁴³ In dyang-ni of Luke-83 and 87, "d" is the remnant of the Pyongan dialect. In the Korean Primer, Ross uses "street" with the meaning of market-place, as most trades were generally done at the open-market on the street rather than the permanent shops. Ross's example is "When you go out to the street and buy things, what things will you buy?"(CP, p.57, cf.p.55)

used. For instance, "to read" in the 6:3 and 10:26 was translated as o-i-da, which means "to recite".⁴⁴ As the correct word for "read" is il-tta, this may reflect a wrong translation or a local dialect. But since even Luke-90 uses the same term, it may imply something else. Unlike at the present time, books were rarely owned by individuals, and reciting was the best way to learn something. Thus, the word o-i-da may not be a case of a wrong translation or of the use of the local dialect, but rather an idiomatic translation according to the contemporary situation.

In 10:40, the inflected dialect form yōt-t'u-da, which was translated from "to serve", would be a difficult word for capital speakers. As the root of this word in all four editions is the same, it seems to have been generally understood even in the capital. In John 12:2, "to serve" was translated by the same word. But an interesting thing is found in 10:7, where "as they give" was also translated as yōt-t'u-da in Luke-82. In other editions it was kong-gūp-ha-da, "to provide". It is clear that the words have the same meaning, "to provide" or "to supply", in Korean. But although yōt-t'u-da would be intelligible to the people of the capital, it is true that it was a less common form than kong-gūp-ha-da.

The other difficult verb would be "to lose" (15:4, 6, 8, 24, 32). Basically, two kinds of verb roots were used in the four editions. In Luke-82, "to lose" of v.8 has hil-ta, the other verses have pe-da. The former is a corrupted form of il-ta, and the latter is a local dialect form for "to lose". Luke-83 and 87

⁴⁴ The Ross's editions use o-i-da, and Luke-90 writes oe-o-da. The standard form is oe-da.

avoid using *peda*, and have *hil-ta* (4, 6, 8), and *il-ta* (24, 32). Luke-90 has only *nil-ta*. From these examples, it is clear that the dominant form for "to lose" in the Ross Version is *hil-ta*, and that *pe-da* would be a dialect form difficult to understand in the capital. The sound "h" of the *hil-ta* was a peculiarity, not only of the P'yŏngan dialect, but also of the language in the capital. A similar example is found in 12:35, when "lamps burning" was translated into *dŭng-bul-ŭl hyo-da* in all four editions. Although *hyo-da* has a meaning "to light" rather than "to burn", as the standard form has been developed to *kyo-da*, the sound "h" can be regarded as the peculiarity of that time. However peculiar, it was not a difficult word.

(v) Some names for disease and disability in dialect form would be strange to the people of the capital. But this does not mean that they were entirely unintelligible. We have already seen one of examples in Table 5,⁴⁵ that would certainly not have been difficult to understand. But it is interesting to see some efforts by the translators to avoid the use of Chinese terms as far as possible, and to choose local terms. The local terms employed seem to follow the P'yŏngan dialect forms, but would probably be much more intelligible than Chinese terms.

<TABLE 9> NAMES OF DISEASE AND DISABILITY

	English	Luke-82	83 & 87	Luke-90	common usage
4:18	blind	soe-kyŏng	= & so-kyŏng	so-kyŏng	so-kyŏng
4:27	(leprosy)	paek-nap-p'ung	=	=	nun-dung-pyŏng

⁴⁵ The word for "dumb" in 1:20. see p.244.

4:39f.	fever	yōn-pyōng	=	yōl-pyōng	=
5:18	palsy	pa-ram- chūng	pal-an- chūng	pa-ram- chūng	chung-pung- pyōng
7:22	lame	chōl-nuk- yaek-i	an-chan- pang-i	an-chūn- pang-i	an-chūn- baeng-i
	deaf	kwi-mōk- tyang-i	kwi-mōk- ttaeng-i	kwi-mōk-ō- ri	kwi-mō- gō-ri
8:43f.	issue blood	of tae-ha- chūng	tae-hat- chūng	=	hyōl-ru pyōng
13:11	bowed	kop- tyang-i	kop- chyang-i*	*	*
14:2	dropsy	ko-t'yang- chūng	=, ko- ch'yang	ko-ch'ang- chūng	=

From Table 9 we can see that there are no great differences of terms and pronunciations between the four editions. An interesting thing is that, except in the case of palsy, the names for disability are pure Korean, while those for disease are Chinese terms.⁴⁶ Although the names for disease are in Chinese, they have not originated from the Chinese Bible, but from the Koreanized medical terms used at that time. For this reason, when we compare the names with the standard terms, we find that there are some differences between the names. However, this does not mean that the terms in the Ross editions are totally wrong, except for one clear case, the term used in 8:43.

In 8:43, the name for an issue of blood is specified in the Korean translation, unlike the English Bible, as hyōr-ru-pyōng, "haemorrhage". But, as the term tae-ha-chūng in the Ross's editions refers to less serious condition of "leucorrhea", it

⁴⁶ In 5:18, pa-ram-chūng is a translated word from Chinese term p'ung-chūng. It is a combined word with pa-ram (p'ung, which means "wind") and chūng (which means "symptom of disease"), and this term is still in use by the elderly. It is the colloquial term for palsy.

does not convey the seriousness of the woman's haemorrhage. Surprisingly, the reviser of Luke-90 uses the same term. Probably, leucorrhea was regarded as including haemorrhage, or the name of haemorrhage would not have been known to the Korean at that time. But it is questionable how many people were familiar with terms like *tae-ha-chŭng*, *pak-nap-p'ung* for leprosy,⁴⁷ and *ko-ch'ang-chŭng* for dropsy.⁴⁸

The change of term for "lame" in 7:22 is not significant; it is only like a shift from "cripple" to "lame". Both terms are pure Korean, and have almost the same meaning. In 13:11, the symbol "*" indicates the different style of the translation. Luke-82 and 83 use the word *kop-chyang-i*,⁴⁹ "hunchback". From Luke-87, the English Bible "was bowed" was literally translated into Korean. But in both cases there is no difference in meaning. Although *kop-chyang-i* was an unusual expression, there is no doubt that both were intelligible.

(B) The pure Korean terms and the Chinese terms

As the purpose of translation was to make a Bible for the common people, and as one of Ross's principles was to use

⁴⁷ Unlike the English Bible, leper had been translated into "a person who has the disease leprosy" in all the four editions.

⁴⁸ Even in the modern translation, dropsy has been translated into *ko-ch'ang-chŭng*, but it causes confusion between dropsy and tympanites, whose character is the same as that of dropsy. The correct translation for dropsy is "su-chong" (水腫).

⁴⁹ The sound value "t" in Luke-82 is another example of the P'yŏngan dialect form.

idiomatic language of the people, he seems to have avoided the use of Chinese terms as much as he could. However, because the first draft of the Ross Version was made from the Chinese Bible, there are some difficult Chinese expressions. Through the process of revision, pure Korean expressions seem to have often been changed into the more literary Chinese terms.

(a) Changes from the Korean to the Chinese

A number of changes in Korean syntax are introduced after Luke-83, but in this section we will note the changes from pure Korean to Chinese, or from easy Chinese to difficult Chinese expressions.

For instance, from Luke-82 to 90, "a doctor of the law" of 5:17 was translated into pōp ka-rū-ch'i-nūn cha,⁵⁰ a person who teaches a law. In Luke-82, "lawyer" was nyul-pōp sū-sūng,⁵¹ a law teacher, in 7:30, and pōp ka-ra-ch'i-nūn sū-sūng, a teacher who teaches the law in 10:25, 11:45f., 52, and 14:3. In the case of 7:30, the word was changed into pōp-kwan,⁵² a judicial officer in Luke-83, 87, and 90, and in the other verses, the term was

⁵⁰ Here is the literal translation of this word; pōp 法 :law) ka-rū-ch'i-nūn (teaching) cha (者 :person). This is a coined word combining simple Chinese words with a pure Korean.

⁵¹ The sound value "n" of nyul-bōp is a remnant of the Pyongan dialect. It should be pronounced as yul-bōp. If pōp refers to a general law, yul-bōp(律法) does to the specific law, like commandment, which is prescribed in the name of religions or gods. Sū-sūng is a native word for a teacher. Therefore, this term was also a coined word with Chinese and Korean.

⁵² This is a Chinese term for a secular justiciary, which tends to imply a judge. In this sense, the term used in 11:45f. was the correct equivalent of the original.

changed into pōp-sa, a teacher of a law.⁵³

It is not clear whether Ross meant to distinguish nomodidaskalos of 5:17 from nomikos elsewhere. The use of pōp for nomodidaskalos of 5:17 was in all his three editions; but, a variety words for nomikos. Whatever his intention was, we may draw three conclusions: seeing that pōp and cha are simple Chinese words, which can be regarded almost as pure Korean, (i) Ross preferred to use pure Korean terms rather than Chinese, like pōp ka-rū-ch'i-nūn sū-sūng or cha; (ii) revisers preferred to use more difficult Chinese literary expressions like yul-pōp⁵⁴ rather than pōp; (iii) difficult Chinese terms would give readers a wrong impression or cause misunderstanding. Under these categories, we can see the actual changes of terms in Luke.

<TABLE 10> CHANGES FROM KOREAN TO CHINESE

English	Luke-82	After 83
1:11 right side	ol-ūn-k'yōn	u-p'yōn(右便)
1:47 rejoice	chūl-gō-wō-ha-da	<u>hūi-rak</u> (喜樂)hada
1:76 be called	<u>pu-rūl</u> -gōt-i-da	<u>ch'ing</u> (稱)hal...
2:8 shepherd	yang-ch'i-nōn-cha	mok-in(牧人)
2:25 look for	ki-dae-ri-da	sa-mo(思慕)hada

⁵³ The original meaning of pōp-sa is "the teacher of a Buddhist priest", who teaches a Buddhist doctrine. This is usually regarded as a Buddhist term for teacher.

⁵⁴ Although yul-pōp is not difficult Chinese, it is a simple example of using difficult Chinese expression, as Ross seems to have created a new term. Probably, a word kye-yul (械律), which is synonym of yul-pōp, would be more common than yul-pōp. But, if the former refers to the Buddhist precepts, the latter has become a Christian word for commandments.

4:40	laid his hand upon	son-ŭl tae-i-ni	an-ch'al(按擦)hani
5:26	strange things	i-sang(異常) ha-mul	oe-ji-sa(外地事)rŭl
6:10	be restored	na-a	so-pok(蘇復)hagŏ-nal
6:28	curse	yok(辱)ha-nŏn-cha	ak-ŏn(惡言)...
7:10	(get well)	na-ŭn-di-ra	syuk-sŏng(熟省) ha-da-ra
7:11	soon afterwards	<u>met-nal-hu</u> (後)-e	<u>pul-wŏn</u> (不遠)-e
7:24	concerning	dŭl-ŏ	ping-cha(憑藉) ha-yŏ
8:24	rebuke	kku-ji-jŭ-ni	ch'aek-mang(責望) han-tae
9:43	astonished	nol-nae-da	k'yŏng-dong(驚動) ha-da
10:9	therein	kŭ-ga-un-de	kŭ-jung(中)-e
11:21	court	chip	won(院)
11:53	wait	ki-dae-ryŏ	tŭng-dae(等待)ha-yŏ
12:10	one who speak against	yok(辱)-ha-nŏn-cha	ch'am-nam(僭濫) -ha-nan-cha
13:17	all glorious things	the kŭ <u>mo-dun kwang-myŏng</u> (光明)-han il-ha-mul	kŭ <u>haeng-sa-kwang-myŏng</u> (行事光明)ha-mul
16:19	faring	nol-ko	yŏl-rak(悅樂)hago
22:55	sat in midst of	the kŭ sa-i-e an-chŭ-ni	ch'am-ye(參預)hani

As more than half of the vocabulary of Korean has been borrowed and modified from Chinese, commonly used Chinese terms are regarded as being Korean. There are plenty of examples of this; these are only some of the typical examples of the changes. As we can see in the column of Luke-82, Ross chose pure Korean or simple Chinese where he had an alternative. Therefore, the first column, with Luke-82 readings, illustrates this. All the terms

used in the second column are Chinese; some easy, some more difficult. Again, they can be divided into three categories in relation to intelligibility.

(i) The use of commonly used Chinese did not affect intelligibility. These cases are 1:11, 47, 76, 6:28, 7:28, 8:24, 9:43, 10:9, 11:21, 13:17, 16:19. Some of these terms may have caused some difficulty for uneducated people, but it is certain that all of them were in common use.

(ii) The second group is the more difficult Chinese expressions chosen by the revisers. They are 6:10, 7:10, 11, 11:53, 12:10. It is not necessary to explain individual terms, but they would certainly have been difficult to understand without Chinese ideographs.

(iii) The rest (2:8, 2:25, 4:40, 5:26, 22:55) are inadequate Chinese terms which could give readers a wrong impression. For instance, even in Luke-82, "shepherd" was translated yang-ch'i-nŏn-cha, a person who takes care of sheep, in 2:8, and mok-yang-in in 2:15, and mok-in in 2:18, 20, and 8:33.⁵⁵ The first two cases specify sheep, but as mok-in is a person who takes care of cattle, especially a cow or horse, and sheep were rare for Koreans, the word mok-in may have been understood as a person who took care of a cow or horse rather than sheep. In this case, the use of the pure Korean expression would be more intelligible than the use of the Chinese. The other terms included the meaning of the original, but the first sense

⁵⁵ Ross lost his uniformity in this case. But, from Luke-83 edition, it was unified into mok-in. Mok-yang-in was borrowed from the Chinese Bible, and mok-in is the simplified word of mok-yang-in. Both mean shepherd.

of the terms is wider than that of the original. For instance, ~~sa-mo~~-ha-da of 2:25 is "yearning" or "longing" rather than "looking for", oe-ji-sa of 5:26 is "happenings in the foreign country", and ch'am-ye of 22:55 is "to participate" rather than "to sit in". This kind of misleading expression has been caused by excessive adaptation of the Chinese terms. However, if the same terms were written in Chinese ideographs, the original meanings could not be missed, having regard to the context. Therefore, any difficulty of the Chinese expressions in the Ross Version, mainly resulted from using the words without the Chinese ideographs not from the translation itself. In fact the Ross Version has very few Chinese expressions compared with the other versions.

(b) From Chinese to Korean

On the other hand, some Chinese expressions of Luke-82 were changed into Korean in the later editions. Although the number of changes are much fewer than the changes from Korean to Chinese, it gives an important clue to the characteristics of revisers.

<TABLE 11> CHANGES FROM CHINESE TO KOREAN

	English		Luke-82	Luke-83 & 87	Luke-90
1:42	Thou art blessed		<u>ch'uk-su</u> -ha-mul ôt-da	ki-ri-mul-bo-da	pok-i-yo
2:21	before being conceived		<u>ing-t'ae</u> -ha-gi jôn	a pae-gi jôn	a-hae pae-gi jôn
2:48	father		<u>pu-ch'in</u>	a-bam	=
3:7	offspring of vipers		tok-sa-ûi ya	<u>nyu-</u> tok-sa-ûi <u>sik-a</u>	<u>cha-</u> =

6:12	all night	<u>chong-ya</u>	pam-i mattorok	=
6:36	your Father	<u>t'yŏn-pu</u>	(ha-nal) abani*	=
6:40	one when he is perfected cha	<u>chyŏn-pi-han-</u>	(tŏk-i) ga- jŭn-cha *	=
6:48	when <u>flood</u> arose	a <u>t'yang-su</u> nal- ttae	k'ŭn mul-i = nŏm-ch'yŏ	
7:4	worthy	<u>hap-tang-han-</u> kŏ-si	ssan-kŏ-si	mat-tang- han-kŏ-si
7:14	the bier	<u>kwan-kwak</u>	nŏl	=
7:32	pipe	<u>de-rŭl</u> pu-doe	p'i-rae-rŭl pu- doe	p'i-ri-rŭl- pul-doe
8:7	thorns	<u>hyŏng-kŭk</u>	ka-sŭi	ka-si
8:23	storm wind	of <u>kwang-p'ung</u>	pa-ram-nol-i	pa-ram-no-li
11:19	sons	<u>cha-de</u>	a-dal	cha-de

(i) It is interesting to see that half of the examples are found in chapter 6 and 7 of Luke, and all the examples are in the first half of the Luke. This may suggest that there was more than one reviser of Luke-83.

(ii) Although Ross insists that the reviser of Luke-83 was a scholar from the capital, as I have argued before, the reviser of Luke-83 was probably not a native capital speaker, nor in the technical sense, a scholar. If he was a scholar from the capital, he would have generally preferred the use of Chinese. But, except in the cases of 3:7 and 6:40,⁵⁶ all the examples were revised into pure Korean. It is more likely that, since some Korean words

⁵⁶ Nyu (類) of Luke-82 means "species" rather than offspring, cha-sik (子息) is a vulgar term for one's own child or children. Therefore, it can be regarded as a correction of the wrong translation. But, as cha-sik was and still is the easy common word for child, the case may be considered as one examples of the change from the Chinese to the Korean. In the same way, tŏk (德) of 6:40 also would be easy to understand.

in Luke-83 and 87 are of the P'yōngan dialect forms, he was one of the P'yōngan people, who may have resided in the capital. When we compare a-bam of 2:48 with a-ba-ni⁵⁷ of 6:38, a-ba-ni is obviously the P'yōngan way to pronounce a-bam. P'i-rae of 7:32, ka-sūi of 8:7, and a-dal⁵⁸ of 11:19 also are the same kind of dialect. Furthermore, ssan-kō-si of 7:4 is the pure P'yōngan dialect form for "appropriate", which would be unintelligible to the other people. Therefore, it is doubtful if the revisers of Luke-83 and 87 were genuine scholars from the capital.

(iii) Some examples of Luke-82, without Chinese ideographs, are supposed to have caused difficulties, but their revisions should have helped understanding. They are chong-ya (終夜) of 6:12, chōn-pi (全備) of 6:40, ch'ang-su (漲水)⁵⁹ of 6:48, kwan-kwak (棺槨)⁶⁰ of 7:14, chō (笛) of 7:32, hyōng-kūk (荊棘) of 8:7. Even for scholars, some of these would be very difficult words to understand. For these cases, the changes can be regarded as correct revision.

⁵⁷ In Luke-83, the word ha-nal for "heaven" was omitted, and tōk-i for "virtue" was also omitted in 6:40.

⁵⁸ It is interesting to see the word "cha-de" in Luke-90, as Luke-90 is supposed to be absolutely of the dialect form of the capital.

⁵⁹ The sound value "t" in the table is a remnant of the P'yōngan dialect. The same sort of dialects in the table are t'yōn-pu for ch'ōn-pu(天父) of 6:36, de for chō(笛) of 7:32, and cha-de for cha-je(子弟) of 11:19.

⁶⁰ It is not word for the bier but for the whole coffin.

(C) Ambiguous renderings

We have already seen some examples of ambiguous renderings related to P'yŏngan dialect forms and the Chinese expressions. As the general points of the ambiguous renderings have been mentioned earlier, it is not necessary to explain the cases in detail. It may be enough to take some examples.

(i) For geographical reasons, and because of the slow progress in the development of language in P'yŏngan region, there are some archaic words in terms of capital dialect found in the Ross Version. Besides the examples of archaic words in chapter three,⁶¹ there are a few more words in Luke-82. These are o-ŭn for all (1:65 etc.), ō-ŭm for sprout (8:6, 21:30), and nu-gŏl for beggar (16:20, 22). But the standard pronunciation of o-ŭn is on, there is little difference between them. In case of ō-ŭm, there is no change in Luke-83 and 87, and it was only changed into ssak in 8:6 of Luke-90. The case is the same for nu-gŏl in Luke-83 and 87. Luke-90 uses it at 16:20 together with the standard word for beggar, gŏl-in, of v.22. This suggests that the archaic words were not a cause of misunderstanding or unintelligibility.

(ii) The stilted style seems to have made certain sentences too colloquial. As I have already mentioned, this affects the use of the second personal pronoun. In "thou sayest" (23:3), "thou"

⁶¹ See footnote no.17 of chapter three.

refers to Pilate, and, thus was translated into tae-in (大人),⁶² which means "your excellency". A similar term is found in 1:3 of Luke-82, where "most excellent" was translated into kwi-in (貴人).⁶³ Although its literal meaning is "nobleman", it can be regarded as a synonym of tae-in. It would have been Korean logic that the political position of Pilate would have been respected even in Jesus' way of speaking. Therefore, it is not surprising that all four editions agree on this term.

A case that makes modern readers smile is found in 5:5 and 8:45 of Luke-82, where Peter called Jesus yōng-gam.⁶⁴ This is a translation of the vocative pronoun "Master" referring to Jesus. Originally, the word yōng-gam has two meanings; husband or elderly man, and high ranking official. Therefore the vocative word yōng-gam became an honorific title. In this sense, it was not a wrong translation, but it feels strange to modern readers, as they are accustomed to the word "teacher" referring to Jesus. In Luke-87 and 90, 5:5 reads it pu-ja (夫子), which means "sage". But the word pu-ja would be an unfamiliar term to the common people, borrowed as it was from the Chinese Bible. In the case of 8:45 after Luke-83, it was changed into sōn-saeng-nim, "teacher". Ross's attempt to make an idiomatic translation may be responsible for the use of such terms. His problem was

⁶² The word tae-in, which its literal meaning is "big or great man", had usually referred to the Chinese by Koreans as the people of tributary country.

⁶³ The other editions have kwi-han, which means "noble".

⁶⁴ This word is also found in 1:38 of Luke-83, where Mary refers to the angel Gabriel. "Thy word" was translated into yōng-gam-ūi mal, "the word of yōng-gam". The other editions use the word "angel".

inconsistency in the use of colloquial terms combined with his literal style. However, these terms would not bring out the obscure sense from the original meanings.

(iii) The Koreanized terms and the coined words would have caused a certain obscurity. Most of the coined words are related to Greek words or to theological terms. Some of the Greek words were transliterated into Korean, and some were borrowed from the Chinese Bible. There is no doubt that, without the definition of terms, this type of newly introduced term would be some hindrance in rendering the meaning. As far as the Greek words and the theological terms are concerned, these will be examined in the next section. Here we shall take some examples of the Koreanized word.

Yōng-gam is a good example of the Koreanized words. Most of these involve what Korean grammar calls "proper pronoun": for instance, sōn-pae⁶⁵ for the Scribe, pang-baek(方伯) for Governor, p'a-ch'ong(把摠) for Centurion, chae-sang(宰相)⁶⁶ for Steward, chōng-sūng(政丞)⁶⁷ for counsellor, a-yōk(衙役) for officer.

⁶⁵ All four editions use the word sōn-pae, who was superior in scholarship, experience, or age. But it has become "senior graduate of the same school" referring to one's age. In my opinion, it was a corrupted pronunciation of sōn-pi by the P'yōngan people, as sōn-pi was a scholar who passed the government examination and were out of government service, but led the national morality by fostering ethical codes based on Confucian thoughts. Although Luke-90 also reads it sōn-pae, the reviser of Luke-90 seems to have confused it with sōn-pi.

⁶⁶ As chae-sang referred generally to the government minister, Luke-87 and 90 changed it chip-sa(8:3), who was a steward. But, chip-sa is today defined as a deacon or a deaconess.

⁶⁷ The highest rank of chae-sang was called chōng-sūng, and thus, Luke-87 and 90 changed it chae-sang (23:50).

Except hyōng-kwan (刑官)⁶⁸ for judge in 12:58, however, there are no distinctive titles which distinguish between magistrate (12:58), judge (18:2, 6), and ruler (18:18). All the cases were translated into kwan-chang (官長), a head of a government office or officer.⁶⁹

Most titles seem to have been borrowed from the Chinese. But they are the terms which had been already modified into the Korean rank system at that time. In this sense, they are Koreanized terms. In the modern Korean translations, "centurion" is literally translated as paek-pu-jang, a head of the 100 soldiers. When compared with p'a-ch'ong in the modern translation, if we look for an idiomatic or colloquial military term, p'a-ch'ong should be "captain" or "a company commander" in Korean. In this case, it would probably be criticized as being too colloquial. However, it is not certain that these Koreanized terms would have been a hindrance in understanding the meaning.

Words that would cause some obscurity might be those without parallel in contemporary society. For instance, in Table 9, a literal translation of "to lay one's hand upon" (4:40, 13:13) is son-ül tae-i-ni in Luke-82 column. But, from Luke-83, a new word, possibly a coined word, an-ch'al(按擦) was introduced. As its literal meaning is "press and rub by hand", it is a synonym of an-ma(按摩), massage. The act of laying on of hands would be interpreted by Korean translators as a significant movement. Especially when it is combined with healing, it is not supposed

⁶⁸ This term seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese Bible.

⁶⁹ Probably, it would be influenced by the Chinese Bible, because it also reads them as one term "kwan"(官).

to be a simple touch of the hand. Although an-ch'al is today recognized as one of the healing activities in Korea,⁷⁰ this term would convey a slightly different meaning from the original. But again, the non-use of the Chinese ideographs must have made this word more ambiguous. It is not surprising that these kinds of cases are mostly found among theological terms. The Ross Version was the first Bible translation in Korean, and Christian concepts were hardly known in Korea. It must have been tempting to borrow the Chinese terms rather than to create a new Korean term.

(3) Analysis of the theological terms

We have placed the main features of the Ross Version as well as the criticisms made of it, in the light of the degree of intelligibility for the people of the capital. There is no doubt that a few pure P'yŏngan dialect words, a few coined words, and a few borrowed Chinese terms would have caused some difficulty for the understanding of the original Biblical meanings. But an analysis of some theological terms raises other question.

As I have mentioned, most of the theological terms are borrowed words from the Chinese Bible, or newly coined words, or transliterated words from the Greek. They had to be new or unfamiliar concepts to the Korean people at that time. In this sense, there is no point in analyzing the theological terms in the light of their degree of intelligibility. It is better to

⁷⁰ An-ch'al is usually combined with ki-do (祈禱), prayer. In a word, Korean calls an-ch'al ki-do, the transmission prayer of the spiritual power. This prayer is carried out with hitting or massaging.

examine them by following Ross's principles of translation.

(A) The use of pure Korean words for theological terms

We know that Ross had always intended to use the pure Korean word rather than the borrowed Chinese term. The number of these cases in theological terms is not great, but one of the most important matters in translation work, the choice of the name of God, is related to this principle.

✓(i) The name of God. At the time of the publication of the Korean Primer, this may not have been decided. There is no clue at all in the Korean Primer. In the last chapter of the Mandarin Primer, the name of God was sang-je(上帝), which was a well known term for God in Korea as well. But Ross employed the indigenous word, ha-na-nim⁷¹ for God instead of the Chinese one, and this term is still used in the Korean Church.

When the early missionaries prepared the new translation of the Bible, there was controversy over the term for God, although it was not as serious as in China since the Korean Protestant Churches agreed to have the one common Bible with the term hananim. According to Rev. D.L. Gifford of Seoul,⁷² the Anglican Mission (S.P.G) insisted on using the term ch'ŏnju(天主). It is certain that, because the S.P.G. in China was already committed

⁷¹ In Luke-82, it was ha-nū-nim, which is believed to have been originated from ha-nūl for heaven. The other editions, even Luke-90, reads ha-na-nim, which originated from ha-nal, a corrupt form of ha-nūl.

⁷² His letter to Mr. Turley of the BFBS on 10th December, 1895 (see ECI-BFBS, vol.33, a letter of Dyer on 21st December, 1895, pp.61-64).

to that term, their missionaries in Korea had to follow their example, but the other missionaries preferred hananim or sang je.⁷³ Because of this division over the term for God, 1,000 copies of the Gospels and of the Acts with hananim were printed in 1895 and 1896, and 500 copies with ch'unju were printed at the same time.⁷⁴ It was said that they were "tentative editions for the use of Christians", "not for the general circulation".⁷⁵ However, hananim was later decided on as the term for God, on the ground that it had been used without objection for over ten years in the field. It was probably easy for Ross to decide on hananim as the term for God, because he worked alone. But his principle of preference for indigenous terms made this cause natural. No one can deny that his decision on the term for God was the most important one for the Korean Church.

(ii) Ross's preference for the indigenous term can be seen

⁷³ In China, the Roman Catholic Church adopted the term t'ien chu through the long controversy between shangti and t'ien chu. But in the Protestant Churches circle, the term question arose between shangti and shin. (For the term question for God, see James Legge, *An Argument for Shang Te as the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Theos in the Chinese Language: with Strictures on the Essay of Bishop Boone in Favour of the Term Shin*, Hongkong, 1850; William J. Boone, *Defense of an Essay on the Proper Rendering of the Words Elohim and Theos into the Chinese Language*, Canton, 1850; H.G. Creel, *Birth of China*, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., New York, 1954; Broomhall, *Bible in China*) In Korea, some people also suggested to use the term shin, but the main controversy was between sangje, chunju, and hananim.

⁷⁴ *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, vol.2, BFBS, p.888; ECI-BFBS, vol.33, p.64.

⁷⁵ ECI-BFBS, op.cit: According to Dyer, in case of that all the missionaries agree with ha-na-nim or ch'un-ju, the use of sang-je in Chinese was suggested. Because, although sang-je was the Chinese term for God, it was the well known name to the Korean people, and had been used as a term for God in the Scriptures by "Yi Su-jōng" since 1884. Even in 2:37 of Luke-90, the term "sang-je" was once used.

in the term for "prayer". In the Chinese Bible, the term *ki-do* was employed, and it is the inclusive Christian term for prayer in Korea. But Ross uses the indigenous term *pil-da* for prayer.⁷⁶ The word *pil-da* has a general meaning of "to beg for something" and "to beg one's pardon", but it also has the meaning of "to pray for". Since the term *ki-do* was unfamiliar to Koreans, the use of *pil-da* would be a sensible and idiomatic choice.

The term for "Passover" also shows Ross's preference for the indigenous term. In the Chinese Bible, it was translated as *yu-wōl-chōl* (逾越節)⁷⁷, and it is now used in the Korean Church. But Ross translated it into *nōm-nūn-jōl*, which is a word combined from the Korean *nōm-nūn* for pass over and the Chinese *chōl* (or *jōl*), "festival". Its literal meaning thus is the "passover festival". The actual occurrences of this term are in 2:41, 22:1, 7, 13. In order to avoid repetition of the same term in 22:8, 13, 15, it was translated into *chōl-il* (節日), the festival day. Judging from the fact that Luke-90 uses the same term, it was not an unintelligible term at all. It is obvious that the translators of the new versions, who preferred Chinese expressions, replaced this term by the Chinese term. In relation to the term for Passover, Ross translated literally "the feast of unleavened bread" (22:1, 7) into the pure Korean *nu-ruk kūm-ha-nūn jōl*, but it was later changed into the Chinese term *mu-kyo-jōl*.

A similar case, or perhaps a converse case, is found in the

⁷⁶ The house of prayer was translated as *pi-nūn* (praying) *chip* (house).

⁷⁷ In one place in Luke-82, the same term was used (2:41). It shows clearly that the first draft of the Ross Version was prepared from the Chinese.

term for the Cross. If in the above cases a Chinese classifier *chōl* was used after the pure Korean words, this would provide a reason for using a Korean classifier after the Chinese word. The term for the cross seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese Bible, because Luke-82 uses the term *sip-cha-ga* (十字架) in 14:27 as does the Chinese Bible. In the other places,⁷⁸ the cross was translated as *sip-cha-t'ūl*, which means "a frame of a figure of letter ten".⁷⁹ As both "ga" and "t'ūl" have the same meaning "frame", there is no differences in meaning. It is not surprising that, as in the above cases, Luke-90 also follows Ross's term.

(iv) It is hard to judge which term is better in the contemporary situation, in which Korean Christians have become accustomed to the Chinese terms that were employed by the later translators. One thing we can say here is how much Ross tried to use indigenous terms rather than Chinese ones. But some pure Korean words render the original meanings more clearly than the Chinese.

For instance, when *dikaïos* refers to the righteous, it was translated as *ol-ūn cha* or *ol-ūn sa-ram* in the Ross editions.⁸⁰ As both words "cha" (者) and "sa-ram" mean "man" or "person", both terms have the meaning "the righteous". There is no doubt that the Luke-90 reviser felt that both were the right terms for the righteous, because the terms of Luke-90 are exactly same as

⁷⁸ They are found in 9:23; 23:21, 23, 26, 33; 24:7, 20.

⁷⁹ The word ten (*sip*:十) in Chinese has a shape of cross. The literal meaning of *sip-cha* is "letter ten".

⁸⁰ Luke-82 has *ol-ūn cha* in 1:6, 17, 14:14, and *ol-ūn sa-ram* in 5:32, 15:7, 20:20, 23:47. Luke-83 and 87 also are same, except *ol-ūn sa-ram* in 14:14.

Luke-83 and 87. However, this term was later changed into the Chinese word ūi-in(義人), and it became almost an exclusive Christian technical term. Although the word ūi-in would be easy Chinese, its concept is not easy to describe in a word. If ūi-in is the technical term, ol-ūn sa-ram must be its definition. Although ūi-in has a meaning of the righteous, this used to be a word for patriot in Chinese. For the purpose of easy rendering of the meaning, therefore, the use of ol-ūn sa-ram would be better for Koreans than the use of the other term.

There is also the converse case where the pure Korean would be more difficult to understand than the Chinese term. Ross's editions of Luke created a new term ppaen-pae-cha for the "chosen" (23:35). As Luke-90 also employs the same word, it seems to have been understood at that time. But the same Greek word eklektos in 18:7 was translated as ppaen-paek-sōng for "the elect". The stem of both cases is ppaen, which means "chosen"; cha (者) of the former is "person", and paek-sōng (百姓) in the latter is "the people". Therefore, if the former has the meaning "the chosen person" in the singular, the latter will be the plural form "the chosen people". When we compare both with the term for "chosen" in 9:35, it is clear that the former two terms are much more difficult to understand. As Luke-82 and 83 follow the AV, they employ the term sa-rang-ha-nūn for "beloved". But Luke-87 and 90 uses the word t'aek-han for "the chosen" like RV. Although the stem of "t'aek-han" is a Chinese word, "t'aek"(擇), this expression is much simpler and clearer than the others. This shows that over-stressing the use of indigenous terms could bring about an obscure rendering.

(B) The use of Chinese words for theological terms

It would be fair to say that the use of the Chinese words for theological terms was not in itself a factor hindering the understanding of the original meanings. The only hindrance would be that the concepts of the theological terms had never been known to the Korean people before. In this sense, the situation would be the same, even if the concepts were expressed in pure Korean words. However, some terms borrowed from the Chinese Bible were unfamiliar to the Koreans. They include ch'ŏn-sa for Angel, sŏng-nyong(聖靈) for the Holy Spirit, pog-ūm(福音) for Gospel, and in-ja(人子) for the Son of man, hal-lye(割禮) for Circumcision, sŏng-jŏn(聖殿) for the Holy Temple, che-sa(祭司) for Priest, and sŏn-ji(先知) for Prophet etc.

It is obvious that these words were being newly introduced to the Korean people, and became exclusively Christian terms in Korea. Although Ross stated that "the introduction of a foreign term would be a serious mistake",⁸¹ he had no choice but to introduce the Chinese terms when there was no equivalent in pure Korean. But there is an exception in the above examples. It is the term for the Holy Spirit, sŏng-nyŏng. In the first place, Ross knew that the Korean Roman Catholics used the term sŏng-sin, and, as in the Chinese Bible, employed this term in Luke-82. But when he discovered that the Koreans had already used ryŏng for

⁸¹ Ross, CNT, (JRKFM) p.210 : In fact, Ross refers this statement to the term for God, not to the other terms.

the spirit of man,⁸² he changed the term for the Holy Spirit to sŏng-ryŏng in Luke-83.⁸³

In the case of the term for "angel", Ross uses two different terms without uniformity. Generally, he uses saja(使者) in which its literal meaning is "messenger", in Luke-82,⁸⁴ and ch'ŏnsa, which was borrowed from the Chinese Bible, in the later editions.⁸⁵ Traditionally, the concept of angel in Korea was the spirit who carried out the will of the Lord of Heaven Sang-je. The term sa-ja is quite familiar in connection with this idea, but Ross does not seem to be sure of the office of sa-ja. So he employed the Chinese term ch'ŏn-sa, which he thought to be universally understood by Koreans. At any rate, ch'ŏn-sa became the exclusive term for the Biblical angel.

A similar lack of uniformity of terms can be seen in the term for psuchē. The word psuchē is translated in "soul" (1:46, 2:35, 10:27, 12:19f., 21:19) or "life" (6:9, 9:24, 12:22f., 14:26, 17:33) in English. But this was translated by three different terms in the Ross editions and Luke-90. These are ma-ŭm (1:46, 2:35, 12:19)⁸⁶, saeng-myŏng (6:9, 17:33), and nok-sum

⁸² Probably, Ross means that ryŏng(靈) was in use much more than sin(神). As he observes that "sin" is never used alone, and, with the other terms, it represents the various evil spirits, like "spirits of mountain, of sea, of river, and of earth, etc.".

⁸³ Three places in Luke-83 use sŏng-sin (1:15, 35, 41). It must be a mistake by the reviser. But this mistake is repeated in Luke-87 and 90.

⁸⁴ Ch'ŏn-sa used in Luke-82 is found in 1:68, 2:13, 15, 20f., 9:26, 16:22, 20:36, 22:43, 24:23.

⁸⁵ Sa-ja used in Luke-83 is found in 1:11, 2:9f., 15, 4:10, 7:27, 15:10, 19:14, 22:43. Luke-87 and 90 also are the same as Luke-83.

⁸⁶ After Luke-83, ma-ŭm of 12:19 was omitted.

(10:27, 12:20, 22f., 14:26, 21:19). The literal meaning of *ma-ũm* is "mind" or "heart", but it has the meaning of "spirit"⁸⁷ in these cases. Between the words *saeng-myong* (生命) and *mok-sum*, there is no difference in their meanings, as both terms are equivalent to "life". If there is difference, one is the Chinese term, and the other is the pure Korean. Although "soul" was translated as *mok-sum* in 10:27, 12:20, and 21:19, this kind of lack of uniformity may have been the result of Ross's effort to make an idiomatic translation conveying the mood of the original sentences. For instance, Ross uses two different terms for *logos*, *to*(道) and *mal-ssũm*. The word *do* has many meanings, but in this setting, has the meaning of "truth and reason", which originated from the Taoistic idea. It was the Chinese term for *logos*, and, in the Ross editions and Luke-90, it was generally used for the term for "the word of God" (1:2, 5:1, 15, 8:11ff., 15, 21, 9:26, 11:28). In other places where *logos* refers to the ordinary sayings, it was translated by the indigenous word *mal* or *mal-ssũm*⁸⁸. Probably it is not a case of inconsistency, so much as of representing the original sense in idiomatic language. If Ross had tried to follow the principle of the absolutely literal translation, uniformity would have been impossible in this case.

⁸⁷ The Korean word for "spirit" is *yōng-hon*(靈魂) or *chōng-sin*(精神). "Soul" is usually translated as *yōng-hon*.

⁸⁸ The stem of this word is "mal", speech. Usually, *mal-ssũm* refers to the words of the superior. The Korean Church uses this term for *logos* today. On the ground that *to* has already been known as the teaching of truth and reason to the Koreans, the word *mal-ssũm* would be the better term for *logos*.

(C) The use of the biblical words for theological terms

Presumably the Greek terms used in the Ross Version would be the most difficult part for Koreans. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, although Ross uses Chinese classifiers in some cases, "Baptism", "Sabbath", "Satan", and "Beelzebub" were transliterated in Luke. Because Luke does not have many of this kind of term, it does not seem to be a great problem. But if we look at the Gospel of Mark of the Ross Version, besides the above words, there are *talitha kum* (Mk. 5:41) *korban* (7:11), *ephphatha* (7:34), *hōsanna* (11:9), and *nardos pistikē* (14:3). There is no doubt that, without explanation, these words must have caused great difficulties in understanding. At the end of Luke-82, there is a section explaining some of terms, but it contains only thirteen terms used in Luke, and definitions of the terms are very brief. Among the thirteen terms, there are nine foreign names used in Luke-82. They are "baptim-ye", "sabat-il", "yu-dae" for Judaea, "ye-ru-sa-ryōm" for Jerusalem, "sa-ma-rya" for the village of the Samaritans, "ka-ni-nae" for Galilee, "ro-ma" for Rome, "pal-i-sae" for Pharisee, and "sa-to-gae" for Sadducee.⁸⁹

Pharisee and Sadducee may be regarded as theological terms, but they are not very important ones in terms of intelligibility. Ross defines "baptim-ye" as the mode of introducing by the use of water into the Church of Jesus, and "sabat-il" as one day in every seven set apart for rest. With these definitions, there is

⁸⁹ The other terms are *hal-lye*, whose literal meaning is "cutting rite", for circumcision, *nōm-nōn-jōl* for Passover, *sōng-jōn* for the Holy Temple, and *che-sa* for Priest.

theologically no great difference between "baptim-ye" and se-rye, which means "wash rite", and between "sabat-il" and an-sik-il, which means "rest day".

In this case, however, there was no alternative for translating this kind of term into Korean.⁹⁰ As Ross believed, only acquaintance with the Scriptures would make the Koreans familiar with all the unfamiliar terms. Every new concept would take time to be known in the new situation. Thus, although the Biblical terms used in the Ross Version were the most difficult parts of all, we can not say that the use of the Greek terms was not an adequate principle of translation.

(4) Other points

I have examined most of Ross's principles of translation through the analysis of the Gospel of Luke. But there are some other points that are needed to give more explanation of the principles of translation.

(A) The principle of priority of meaning is most important in relation to the nature of translation. For this principle, a certain term has to be differently translated according to the meaning of the sentence. For instance, a Greek word eulogeō has mainly two meanings, "bless" and "praise". As in the English Versions, this word was translated in Korean as meaning "blessing" in some places and "praising" in others. But, unlike

⁹⁰ In the new translation by the early missionaries, they were translated as se-rye and an-sik-il, as are today used in the Korean Church.

the English Versions, the use of "blessing" was limited by the normal usage of Korean.

(i) In Luke-82, it is obvious that Ross follows the readings of the AV, which conflicts with the normal Korean usage in the matter of "blessing". For instance, as it is the Korean idea that blessing comes only from God or a superior person, the literal translation of "blessing God" does not make sense at all. In Luke-82, it was literally translated as "blessing God" in 1:68, 2:28. But, after Luke-83, although readings of the RV are same as the AV, it was idiomatically translated "praising God".

But an over-idiomatic translation is found in 1:42, "Blessed art thou among women". While Luke-82 read it literally, Luke-83 translated it idiomatically as a meaning "favoured". Translation of "blessed is he ..." of 13:35 is a similar case. Luke-82 reads "blessed", but Luke-83 uses the word "praised". As the reading of Luke-82 is not against the normal usage of the word, it is not necessary to change into the other term.

(ii) "Praising God" in the English texts was literally translated, using three terms, ch'ing-ch'an(稱讚), ch'anni(讚美), and song-yang(頌讚). All three have the meaning of "praise", but the first in normal Korean usage is used for praising the inferior, and the others refer to the superior. In this sense, we cannot use the word "ch'ing-ch'an" toward "God". But Luke-82 so used this term in 2:13, 20, 18:43, 24:53,⁹¹ and also employed the word ch'an-mi in 1:64 and 19:37. Luke-83 had both words ch'an-mi (1:64, 18:43, 24:53) and song-yang (2:13, 20, 19:37).

⁹¹ The AV has "praising and blessing God", the RV has only "blessing God" in 24:53. Luke-82 omitted "blessing", and had the word ch'ing-ch'an for praising.

(iii) Translation of the Greek roots *proskun-* is a typical example of this principle. In the English texts, *proskun-* was translated as "worship" in 4:7, 8, 24:52. But, in the Ross Versions, the word *chŏl-ha-da*, the literal meaning of which is "fell down on his face at another's feet", was used for *proskun-*. Although *chŏl* was a part of the acts of worship, the contexts of the above examples seem to have allowed translators to specify both scenes as the act of *chŏl*. In this case, the Korean term for *proskun-* would be nearer to the original meaning than the word "worship" in English. The word *chŏl-ha-da* is still used for these verses even in the modern translation.

(B) The direct use of the personal pronoun is better avoided according to normal Korean usage. When the second or third personal pronoun refers to the superior, its direct use is regarded as extremely disrespectful. For this reason, the use of the indirect mode of speech is common. For instance, "thou never gavest me a kid" (15:29), was translated into its original object, "father". And translation of 20:38 is "God is not the God of the dead but God of the living", instead of "he is not the God of the dead, but of the living". In case of 11:2, "Our Father ... thy Name ..." was also translated as "Father ... Father's Name".

It is interesting to see that this kind of Korean usage results in the increase of the actual number of usages of the word "Jesus". While the actual word "Jesus" in the Gospel of Luke is used 99 times in the AV and 86 in the RV, it is used 219 in

Luke-82, 231 in Luke-83, and 226 in Luke-87.⁸² It is possible to see that the increased direct use of the actual word "Jesus" brings out psychologically a powerful message. But this kind of Korean usage prevents controversy over the term for God in the modern Bible translation in terms of feminist theology.

(C) The use of the nearest approximation to Greek names has already been examined in Table 4. But because the first draft of translation was prepared from the Chinese Bible with the AV, there are some exceptions. Some of them seem to have followed the English pronunciation, others are from the Chinese Bible.

(i) It is very difficult to distinguish the pronunciation between the Greek and English names. But it is obvious that *da-bit* for David and *p'i-dŭl* for Peter follows the English form rather than the Greek.

(ii) A number of the Chinese pronunciations of certain names are detected in the Gospel of Luke. It is not surprising that Luke-82 has more such style than the others. The most obvious examples are *kap-pal-yŏl* for Gabriel,⁸³ *ka-paek-nyong* for Capernaum,⁸⁴ *ma-tae* for Matthew, *ta-ma* for Thomas,⁸⁵ *ya-ni-ga* for Jericho,⁸⁶ *mal-ta* for Martha, *pil-si-bul* for Beelzebub, *so-no-mon*

⁸² It is surprising that there is no great difference in the number of the actual word "God" is used between the English Bible and Ross editions.

⁸³ After Luke-83, it sounds *kap-yŏl*.

⁸⁴ Luke-82 itself mixes this with *ka-pil-nam* to which the others follows.

⁸⁵ Luke-83 reads it as *do-ma*.

⁸⁶ Luke-82, like the others, uses mostly the word *yo-ri-ko* or *ye-ri-ko*, but *ya-ni-ga* is found in 19:1.

for Solomon,⁸⁷ *paek-pōp-kūi* for Bethphage, *paek-tae-ni* for Bethany,⁸⁸ etc. These examples show clearly that the first draft of Luke-82 was prepared from the Chinese Bible. The few words which follow English forms, and the number of words which follow Chinese in the transcribing foreign names, do not greatly conflict with Ross's effort to make the nearest approximation to Greek names.

(D) Finally, Ross uses Chinese technical terms for time, money, weights, etc. Korea has had two different ways of counting up to one hundred; the indigenous way and the Chinese system. For instance, "one, two, three..." in Korean are pronounced "ha-na, tul, set...", but in Chinese way, as "il, i, sam...". Ross uses both numbering systems in many places. Although this kind of inconsistency does not affect the understanding of the original sense, it indicates that careful revision was not fully carried out, and that there were many contributors to the translation even of a single gospel.

To indicate time, Ross also uses two different terms in his translation. "The second watch" and "the third watch" in 12:38 are literally translated as *i-kyōng* and *sam-kyōng*.⁸⁹ In the modern system, *i-kyōng* is from one to three o'clock, and *sam-kyōng* is from three to five o'clock. Therefore, this is a slightly different system from the second watch and the third

⁸⁷ The others reads *sol-no-mon*.

⁸⁸ The others reads it *pae-da-nya*.

⁸⁹ Their literal meanings are "two sounds of bell" and "three sounds of bell" from the bell tower.

watch.

In 23:44, however, "the sixth hour" and "the ninth hour" were idiomatically translated as o-si(午時) and mi-si(未時). As the original text is known to indicate the period from midday to three o'clock, Ross seems to have counted the duration of the Korean time. In the Chinese Bible, it was translated as from o-si to sin-si(辛時)¹⁰⁰. But, as o-si is equivalent to "from 11 to 1 o'clock", and sin-si is from "3 to 5 o'clock", there could be some misunderstanding on the part of readers. Therefore, Ross specifies the times in his translation as from o-si-jung, midday, to mi-si-mal, the end of mi-si, which is equivalent to "from 1 to 3 o'clock". It would be a small thing, but it shows clearly his effort to make an idiomatic translation.

In this chapter, I have mainly analyzed the Ross Version in relation to its intelligibility. Whether or not the Ross Version was a stop gap Bible, we know that, in spite of some difficulties, it was generally intelligible to the people of Korea, and not just to the people of P'yŏngan province. As Ross's translation was made for the common people, it is no wonder that the style and syntax used in the Ross Version is in general rather simple. But this is not a weak point of the Ross Version but a strong point in the light of the introduction of the Word of God to the whole Korean people. It may not be adequate to judge the rights and wrongs of the Ross Version through linguistic or theological analysis. The Ross Version was

¹⁰⁰ In the Chinese Bible, it was sin-ch'o (辛初), "the beginning of sin-si".

the first translation, done when there was no standard grammar; and it was done when Christianity was not known to the people, and thus, some obscure renderings in theological terms were inevitable. Its quality can be indirectly measured by the results of the Bible translation.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RESULTS OF ROSS'S WORK

In spite of his unfavourable criticisms of the Ross Version, W.D. Reynolds admitted the importance of the Ross Version and evaluated the significance of its place in the history of the Korean Protestant Church.

It was the Ross translation which laid the foundation of the work in Korea. Between 1883 and 1886 no less than 15,690 copies of this translation were circulated in Korean through three colporteurs. From the beginning of the work of Colporteur Saw¹ these men were very successful. Dr. Ross recorded that the first congregation of Korean converts were almost entirely those led to Christ by Saw. The Ross Version of the New Testament was completed and published in 1887. It was thus the circulation of God's Word which introduced Christianity into the Hermit Kingdom and it is recognized that the wonderful progress of the Gospel in Northern Korea was due in no small measure to the seed sowing of those early days. It is worthy of note that today in the city of Wiju² there is a strong church of 1,500 believers with no missionary resident in the city. ³

From the above statement, it is not clear whether the figure of circulation refers only to Korea or elsewhere as well. The Annual Report of the BFBS gives the total circulation of the Scriptures to Koreans between 1884 and 1886, not 1883-86, as 15,692,⁴ and this figure includes circulation to Koreans in Manchuria. It also includes 4 copies of the Chinese Bible and 212 copies of the Chinese Wenli New Testament sold to Koreans in

¹ His proper name was Sō Sang-ryun.

² The proper pronunciation of this town is "ūi ju".

³ Reynolds, W.D., "Early Bible Translation", KMF, Vol.26, No.9, Sept. 1930, p.187. (pp.185-189)

⁴ ARBFBS, 1887, p.272: The numbers of total circulation were 7,588 in 1884, 3,907 in 1885, and 4,197 in 1886.

1886.⁵ Whether the distribution of the Scriptures was done inside Korea or outside, it is obvious that it would have been circulated to Koreans. The total number of the Scriptures printed in Korean by 1887 is recorded as no less than 40,000 copies, and these copies were completely distributed by the end of 1890.⁶ Now this seems to conflict with Reynolds' estimate of the number circulated, but since the number was certainly considerable on either reading, perhaps the exact figure is not so important as the effect of the circulated copies. The most important fact is that the Ross Version was the only Korean New Testament available for the use of people. The Korean Mission Field witnesses;

At the request of the British and Foreign Bible Society the Ross' version of the Gospel of St. Luke was revised by the Rev. Dr. Underwood and published in 1890. For some years this book, with the Epistle to the Romans (Ross' version, revised by W. B. Scranton M. D.) were the only books of the New Testament available for use in the churches and for teaching. They may be said to be the foundation upon which the early Christian Church in Korea was built. ⁷

When Reynolds referred to "the foundation of the work in Korea", it is clear that he meant the work of laying the foundation of the Korean Protestant Church through the

⁵ ARBFBS, op.cit.: It is reported that 200 copies of the Chinese Wenli New Testament, the so-called "Delegates Version", were circulated by Sŏ Sang-ryun in Seoul.

⁶ ECI-BFBS, vol.27, p.12; letter from Ross of 4th November 1890.

⁷ "The British and Foreign Bible Society", KMF, vol.5, Sept. 1909, p.151; In this historical sketch of the BFBS's work in Korea, a concluding remark was that the entire Bible of 1909 "has grown from the humble and necessarily imperfect translation of the Gospel of St. Luke and St. John (Ross's editions of 1882) with its old fashioned and antiquated binding, to the present leather bound volume of clear print and revised version - indeed a beautiful fruitful tree grown from a sapling planted in zeal and faith by the noble men Ross and McIntyre." (ibid., p.152)

introduction of the Word of God, especially through the circulation of the Ross Version. He gave two typical examples as evidence for the foundation of the Korean Church, the first congregation in Seoul and a church in Uiju in north-western Korea. The other interesting fact is that the distribution of the Scriptures was mainly done through three Korean colporteurs who, I believe, were Ross's men, although Reynolds mentions only one of their names.⁸

If it is true that the two examples were clearly results of the circulation of the Ross Version and fruits of the work of Ross's men, it is necessary to examine the works of Ross's men in and outside Korea in order to prove that the Ross Version really was the foundation of the Korean Protestant Church. Through this examination, we will be able to find characteristics of the early Korean Christian communities. For this purpose, I will trace accounts of the formation of the early Korean Christian communities.

1. The formation of Christian communities in Manchuria

Although the American missionaries abandoned the use of the Ross Version, this must have been widely used among Koreans until a new edition of 15,000 copies of the New Testament was published by the American missionaries in 1900. Except for the Ross

⁸ The other two men would probably be Paek Hong-jun and Yi Sŏng-ha, among the earliest converts and Korean translators.

Version, there were no alternative Scripture during the 1890s.⁹ As it takes time for readers to shift from one version to another, the first decade of the 1900s can be regarded as a period of transition from the Ross Version to the so-called Korean Authorized Version of the New Testament which was published in 1904.¹⁰ As the only complete New Testament, the Ross Version had been almost solely read by Koreans for more than two decades. As no one denies that this period was the formative period of the Korean Protestant Church, the Ross Version's influence on the Korean Church would be greater than the other missionary means. Its evaluation would not be complete simply by saying that it was the first Korean New Testament. This should be judged by what kind of influence the Ross Version and Ross's men exerted on the early Korean Christian communities. For this work, it is necessary to examine the early Korean Christian communities.

(1) The beginning of Christian Communities in Manchuria

In chapters two and three, I have already mentioned the work of Kim Chŏng-song in the Korean settlement, the so-called Korean

⁹ During this period, the four Gospels and the Acts, which were published in 1895 and 1896 by the three Bible societies, were available, but they were only tentative editions translated by the North American missionaries. The following report will clearly show that even the American missionaries had no choice but to use the Ross Version: "In the work of Bible translation the New Testament, translated by Rev. Mr. Ross, of Moukdon, in North China, has gained current use, ..." :Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions for 1874, (hereafter ARBFM), The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, p.156.

¹⁰ It is a revision of 1900 edition.

Valleys, in Manchuria. In December of 1884, Ross and his colleague, the Rev. James Webster, visited the Korean settlement in northern Manchuria in order to see the work of colporteur Kim, who had reported so many people wanting to be baptized. They were able to visit only four valleys among twenty-eight due to bad weather, but baptized seventy-five men,¹¹ who were "all farmers and heads of family".¹² It would not be surprising that the baptism of heads of family influenced other members of the families concerned and led to a massive conversion. On this occasion, Webster witnesses;

The origin, progress, and result of this movement are alike remarkable. No missionary had ever visited these people; the Gospels and tracts prepared and sent among them by Mr Ross, combined with the personal witness-bearing of one or two who had come under the influence of the truth in Moukden, have alone been instrumental in bringing about this truly wonderful result. "It is worth while to translate a few books", said Mr Ross, "to see such results".¹³

In his letter to the BFBS on 8th March 1885, Ross reported that besides the baptism of seventy-five Koreans, there were over 600 applicants for baptism in the Korean Valleys, and that he planned to visit them in May 1885.¹⁴ When they revisited there in the spring, Ross and Webster found that there was serious persecution by the Chinese. Therefore, they were able to baptize

¹¹ Webster J., "Journey to the Corean valleys: Religious awakening: Numerous Baptisms", MRUPC for 1885, pp.321-326. In his article, "The Christian Dawn in Korea" (MRW, April, 1890, pp.241-248), Ross wrote that he baptized 85 men in three valleys. But, as he wrote this article six years after his visit, Webster's report is more acceptable.

¹² Ross, CDK, p.245.

¹³ MRUPC for 1885, p.325.

¹⁴ ECI-BFBS, vol.20, p.142.

only fourteen men.¹⁵ It is difficult to count how many Koreans were baptized by Ross, because there is no separate report of the Korean baptisms or the Korean work. We can only guess that it might have been many hundreds. For instance, Ross reported that he baptized hundreds of Chinese and Koreans in the eastern valley in 1885.¹⁶ In the same report, Ross wrote;

The work is still going on and extending rapidly along the north of Corea, on the south, and on the north bank of the Yaloo. From the number of witnesses and their practical unanimity, I feel that there is little room for scepticism as to the remarkable influences produced by the scattering among these people of a few thousand tracts and gospels in their own tongue. The Korean people, from all accounts, seem ripe for the immediate reception of the gospel, the chief requisite being a few missionaries of warm sympathetic nature, living faith, and sound common sense.¹⁷

By 1886 he and his colleague had baptized 600 Chinese and Koreans since his arrival in Manchuria.¹⁸ At least one fifth of them were Koreans.¹⁹ It is not insignificant how many Koreans were baptized, but it is more important that there were a number of Korean communities formed by means of reading the Scriptures.

Many similar stories were found in the northern part of Korea and the Korean settlements in Manchuria. If the Christian communities in Manchuria had no contact with nor influence upon those inside Korea, the communities would be an insignificant factor in discussing the formation of the early Christian

¹⁵ MFMC-UPC for 1885-86, p.101.

¹⁶ MRUPC for 1886, p.217.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.218.

¹⁸ MRUPC for 1887, p.227

¹⁹ Besides about a hundred Koreans baptized in Korean Valleys between 1884 and 1885, Ross and MacIntyre reported that more than 20 Koreans were baptized until 1884.

communities in Korea. Despite the fact that the Korean border was firmly closed, it was not absolutely impossible for Koreans to cross the border. Koreans in Manchuria who were mostly refugees tell clearly that there was a certain access. In fact, more than five Korean colporteurs under Ross had constantly travelled between Manchuria and Korea, even to Russian territory.²⁰ Webster reported on movements of Koreans in 1885:

Not long afterwards most of the converts were compelled to leave the valleys and return to their native land. But they carried the Gospel with them, and when missionaries from America entered Northern Korea they found here and there groups of believers who had received what knowledge they had from the old settlers in the valleys of the Yalu.²¹

Judging by the words "not long afterwards ... compelled to leave", Webster seems to have seen the reason for the Koreans' movement as being the result of persecution by the Chinese. As this article was written thirty years after the event, and as Ross did not mention their movement when he reported on the persecution,²² the actual cause of the movement was not clear. But it is certain that there was considerable movement of Koreans between Korea and Manchuria.

²⁰ According to Ross's letter on 21st September 1901, two of them who had mainly worked in Manchuria were Li Cheng-gun and Li Tai-gao in Chinese pronunciation. Ross wrote, "To-day I was glad to see Li Cheng Gun, the colporteur, who originated the work in the Korean valleys. He and the evangelist Li Tai-gao, the ex-mandarin, escaped across to Korea", because of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. The names of these two men have not been mentioned in the history of the Korean Church. (MRUFC for 1902, p.18)

²¹ Webster, James, "The Maker of the Manchurian Mission: An Appreciation of the late Rev. John Ross, D.D.", MRUFC for 1915, p.396.

²² During the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, most of the Korean Christians in Manchuria seemed have escaped to Korea or to Russian territory. (MRUFC for 1902, p.18)

Therefore it is not surprising that after their baptism some of the Korean converts desired "to go home and give his friends the gospel",²³ and that they initiated the formation of Christian communities in Korea, which will be examined in the next section. In this sense, Ross does not seem to have considered the Korean work as the work directed on the Manchurian side of the border only. From the beginning, Ross aimed to evangelize the whole of Korea through the Word of God in Korean. When he finished the final revision of the Korean New Testament at the beginning of 1887, Ross wrote;

In regard to this Korean work, I continue as hopeful as ever. One of the confidential advisers of the able ex-regent, the father of the king, in passing through Moukden stated his conviction to his friend, my Korean teacher, that as far as the ex-regent's mind was concerned he saw no reason why, if judicious preachers of the gospel were in Corea, the country should not become Christian within three years. ²⁴

²³ Orr, James, "The Gospel in Corea : notes of an address by the Rev. John Ross", MRUPC for 1890, pp.186-8. (p.188). In his earlier report, Ross wrote, "Of the thirty-seven persons baptized, five are Coreans, four of whom came here (Moukden) to be baptized and returned to their native place; one was a young man whom I had employed as compositor." (MRUPC for 1884, p.309) MacIntyre also reported, "Once Corea is opened from the Chinese side, we communicate on our eastern route (i.e. via Feng-whang-chung) with the main road leading to the Korean capital. We have a native Korean evangelist working that route now, and quite a large number of Coreans have gone all the way to Moukden to be baptized." (MRUPC for 1885, p.10) This Korean evangelist seems to be Paek Hong-jun, who was working in the Uiju area.

²⁴ MRUPC for 1887, p.226: The ex-regent was the person who persecuted the Korean Catholics severely during 1865-73, and set up the exclusion policy against the western powers. In the Shanghai Conference of 1890, Ross spoke of him in regard to ancestral worship as follows;

A Korean prince was lately taken into China as a prisoner, and he went there with his heart full of hatred to all Europeans and all forms of Christian religion. While in banishment he came in contact with Christian books, and returned to his land.... According to one of his attaches, who came round by Moukden, he said that if Protestant Christians could adopt ancestral worship - in such a way I

It is difficult to say whether the ex-regent's favourable feeling about Protestantism was genuine. But it is important to see that, from his personal observation of the Korea situation, and after having seen not only the Koreans' immediate response to Christianity but also their commitment to preach the Gospel at their own expense²⁵, Ross was convinced that Korea could become the first nation to receive Christianity in the Far East.²⁶ If the Bible translation was the first step to introduce the Gospel into Korea, therefore, Ross's work for Koreans in Manchuria was another step toward the evangelization of Korea.

(2) The attachment of the Korean Christian communities to the Mission

The Foreign Mission Committee (FMC) of the U.P. Church had never approved Ross's Korean work on the ground that he was sent for the Manchurian people. In this sense, the Korean Christian communities in Manchuria may be regarded as a by-product of Ross's many missionary activities in Manchuria. As this position

mean as excludes all forms and shades of idolatry - he saw no reason why Corea should not be a Christian country in three years. (Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890; American Mission Press, Shanghai, 1890, p.657.)

²⁵ MRUPC for 1885, p.10.

²⁶ Ross's conviction was based on the following two grounds. (1) As in Japan and China, the majority religion of Korea was Buddhism, but it had "lost all hold on the faith of the people". It is certain that he saw the "religious vacuum" in Korea. (2) Koreans had "a faith in a Supreme Being", although it was imperfect. He saw that the Korean idea of "the Lord of Heaven" would be a receptive point of the people for gospel. (cf. Orr, James, "The Gospel in Corea; notes on an address by the Rev. John Ross", MRUPC for 1890, p.188.)

of the Board of FMC may have affected to some extent the characteristics of the early Christian communities, it is important to see the relationship between Ross and FMC with regard to the Korean question.

From the beginning, the Korean work had made trouble for Ross with the Home Church. When the Board heard of Ross's translation work, it expressed its opinion that his time and strength should not be given to translation work, but that direct mission work should have the first place in his thought, plans and efforts. The Board emphasized that his chief work was that of preaching and itinerating.²⁷ In 1883, Ross had trouble with the Board again in connection with his Korean work. He often asked the Board to sanction the appointment of Chinese agents that he had taken on. On the ground that the agents should be urged to give their service voluntarily at first, the Board had always disapproved Ross's proposal, and prohibited him from engaging any native agents, including the Chinese agents, unless application had been made to the Board in the prescribed form and sanction had been obtained.²⁸

On 8th October 1883, Ross asked if there was any intention on the part of the Board to extend the Mission into Korea. He had often asked this question, and, at this time, he wanted to have a definite reply. The Board replied that it was not in a position

²⁷ NLSMC, MS.7659, p.88f. (Letter to Ross from Rev. H. MacGill, the Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee of the U.P. Church dated on 5th October 1882).

²⁸ MFMC-UPC for 1883-84, nos. 3449, 3503, 3810, 3834, 4143.

at present to extend its Manchurian Mission into Korea.²⁹ Ross seems to have again and again asked the same question, and always been given the same reply. The following quotation shows clearly Ross's mind at that time.

My forenoons were devoted to translating or revising the Scriptures into Korean, and although the New Testament is now in print, other work lies waiting to be done.... From personal observation we know there are many hundreds in those twenty-eight valleys who are believers. Far the greater majority of these are unbaptized.... Thus the minimum number of ordained missionaries at present indispensably necessary for the purpose of supervising and guiding the work carried on by the natives, and of baptizing and instructing believers, who are daily growing in numbers over-widening area, is there. Shall we be found pleading with Christ's people for them in vain? ³⁰

This whole Korean question was an urgent task that, Ross

✓²⁹ MFMC-UPC for 1883-84, no.3809. Before Korea was totally opened to foreigners, MacIntyre also appealed for the Korea Mission to the Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee. Although Ross's letter of appeal to the Home Church has not been found, MacIntyre's letter would represent Ross's mind in a sense that MacIntyre's involvement and concern with Korea seems to have been no less than Ross's.

✶ But when Corea is opened we can do a vast amount of valuable work on this side of the frontier. And why should you not have a Korean missionary or two on your Manchurian staff? At all events we can not shake off the Korean. They are near neighbours. They have heard of foreigners who are enthusiasts for their language --and now they come pleading with us to give them the gospel. I beseech you let no money pass you on the ground that you have no Korean agency. You have the honour, through Mr Ross' work, of giving the Scriptures to Coreans in their own language. You actually possess agents who will be fully qualified to work in Corea as "journeymen" not as apprentices, before Corea can possibly be opened to missionaries. You have my Korean converts. You have several Korean evangelists, --- You will surely answer with us;

(1) Accept all monies entrusted to us for Korean evangelisation; (2) Encourage our agents there in their present work; (3) Bind them to be loyal to Manchuria, but give them free scope in the formation of Korean congregations. (MRUPC for 1885, p.10f.)

³⁰ Ross, John, "The Needs of Manchuria: parting words to the Church" (on Board S.S. Glenogle, 29th March 1890), MRUPC for 1890, p.152f.

thought, had to be solved. At this time, he knew that there were many North American missionaries in Korea, and hoped that they would work in northern Korea and the bank of the Yalu, where so many thousands were awaiting Christian instruction. But his hope had been disappointed. Nevertheless, he had always felt a responsibility for the Korean work, and had never given up his desire for the Korea Mission, even after he agreed to hand over the Korea Mission in northern Korea and in Manchuria to North American missionaries in 1892.³¹

(3) Further developments of the Christian communities in the Korean Settlements and its characteristics

Although Ross said that "the decision of the Board has now freed him from all further responsibility"³² for the Korean work in his letter of 21st January 1892, with the Rev. James W. Inglis who had just arrived in Manchuria, he again visited the Korean valleys in March 1892 and April 1893.³³ On the latter occasion, he said;

"If at all possible, it is my design to go twice a year over that ground, and further afield, to some at least of the Corean valleys, where large numbers at present profess faith and seek baptism." ³⁴

In spite of the decision of the Board, the Korean work seems

³¹ MFMC-UPC for 1891-92, nos. 8743, 8886; for 1892-93, nos. 9154, 9349. But American missionaries were not able to immediately expend their mission work into that area.

³² MFMC-UPC for 1892-93, no.9154.

³³ MRUPC for 1892, pp.289f.; for 1893, p.352.

³⁴ MRUPC for 1893, p.352.

always to have been one of his main tasks in Manchuria. It does not mean that Ross was rebellious against the decision of the Board. On 8th March 1897, he wrote;

The Koreans, whom I had put away from my mind and hand, are thrust upon us again. In Tunghwa I baptized 21 fine-looking men. The preceding day on which I was advertised to be there about fifty men had assembled. They insist there are at least 1000 families around Tunghwa who are believers. One's heart feels sore for these sheep without a shepherd, most of them believers for years. Will you not be moved to send us a young missionary to take up this Tunghwa work, while dwelling in Moukden? ³⁵

From this statement, we can see one of the characteristics of the early Korean Christian communities, "sheep without a shepherd". The Korean converts could not have a single ordained missionary, although they had formed a kind of congregation for themselves. The only thing Ross did for them was to instruct Korean colporteurs as evangelists for months and to send them to the Korean settlements and to northern Korea, with some tracts in Korean which were reprinted with the assistance of the London Religious Tract Society.³⁶ The only resources possessed by Korean Christians at that time, were copies of the Ross Version and some tracts, along with Korean evangelists who did not seem to have had intensive instruction but had great zeal for evangelising other Koreans. According to Ross's letter on 11th March 1898, their situation also was the same as before. When Ross, with R.T. Turley, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Manchuria, visited Tungwha area, he baptized 122 Chinese and 95 Koreans. On this occasion Turley wrote to the U.P. Church of 95

³⁵ MRUPC for 1897, p.239.

³⁶ MFMC-UPC for 1891-92, no.8743.

Koreans baptized by Ross;

Many of these poor farmers, as almost all are, had been waiting for years with only a simple but faithful colporteur to help them. Again and again they have sent pleading messages for teachers, but no man would heed their cry. My Society could not do more than it was doing. Your Society absolutely refused, I understand, to aid them, and none of the missionaries in Corea could be induced to take up the work, though they number three to one the whole of those in Manchuria.³⁷

Turley went on to speak of the situation of Koreans in Manchuria in order to appeal for a missionary for them. As sheep without a shepherd, some of the baptized had been "waiting ten, twelve, and fourteen years for baptism".³⁸ As MacIntyre said in appeal to the Board in 1884, Koreans, without chapel or settled agent, seem to have had "free scope in the formation" of their congregations. These circumstances seem to have resulted in a creation of Bible-centred congregation and the lay person-oriented congregation. The use of the native agent, one of Ross's mission policies which will be examined in the next chapter, may also have brought out such characteristics of the early congregations. There is no doubt that, because there were no funds from outside, Koreans were forced to build a chapel for

³⁷ MRUPC for 1898, pp.232f.: When Ross visited there the following year in company with the Rev. H. W. Pullar, Ross was able to baptise more than 52 Koreans, while they baptized 116 Chinese. (MRUPC for 1899, pp.368-70 : This report of Pullar was dated 10th July 1899).

³⁸ MRUPC for 1898, p.233: A part of Ross's letter of appeal also gave the same description of the situation; "The Coreans baptized are barely a quarter of the applicants in the three centres visited. Farther south there are settlements of Coreans, numbering a thousand families, whose members are said for years to have been believers. These are still unvisited. Several thousands of families still farther removed, which still persist in looking to Moukden as their spiritual headquarters, are hopelessly beyond reach."(p.232) At this point, the Board allowed the Manchurian Mission to extend its operation towards the Korean Valleys. (MFMC-UPC for 1898-99, no. 3036)

themselves.³⁹ Eventually, it led to the self-supporting tradition of the early Korean Church. These three characteristics of the early Church --- Bible-centred, lay person-oriented, and self-supporting --- which will be more fully examined later, existed from the beginning of the formation of Christian communities.

2. The formation of Christian communities in Korea

Although the North American missionaries began to land in Korea at the end of 1884, they were allowed to work only in "the four treaty ports and Seoul", and in educational and medical work. One of the problems that the early missionaries had in their work was that of obtaining official permission to engage in evangelistic mission. It was first given to a missionary on 10th June 1898 when the Korean Government issued an entry visa to the Rev. W. L. Swallen as an "American Missionary Teacher".⁴⁰ If Underwood was right to divide the early Korean Church history into four periods,⁴¹ during the first period, the missionaries

³⁹ The earliest record on this matter is found in Webster's report on the Korean Valleys. (Webster, "Journey to the Korean Valleys: Religious awakening: Numerous Baptism", MRUPC for 1885, pp.321-326.) "No.2. Valley. December 7th (1884). ... They are about to build a chapel for themselves; the site was pointed out to us, a pretty little spot on the banks of a mountain stream, where in spring a log-house is to be erected for the worship of God." (p.325) Because of persecution by Chinese, the chapel was unlikely to be built in the following year.

⁴⁰ Min, Kyung-Bae, "Hankuk Kidok Kyohoe sa", p.132.

⁴¹ These are (1) the initial or preparatory period from 1885 to 1890, (2) the period of expansion from 1890 to 1895, (3) the period of the beginning of large harvests from 1895 to 1900, and (4) the period of large harvests and great ingathering from 1900 to 1907. (Underwood, H.G., The Call of Korea, pp.134-150.) But

had to spend their time in learning the language and getting to know the country.

For these reasons, the direct evangelistic mission work had to be done by Koreans themselves. When Underwood confessed that "from the beginning, we have been permitted to see results, and the work has been steadily progressing with an ever-increasing momentum up to the present time (1907)",⁴² he implied that it was not the results of his work, but someone else's. Many of these other people were doubtlessly Ross's men. From this fact, we can trace Ross's influence upon the Korean Church. Therefore, it is important to take some examples in order to find out Ross's influence in Korea.

(1) Christian communities in Kanggye

The work of Ross and of his men in the Kanggye area has been little known to modern Koreans. The first mention of this place appeared in Ross's report in 1891.⁴³ Although Christian communities in Kanggye seem to have been formed later than those of the other places which will be examined, they were directly influenced by the Bible and religious tracts that Ross's colporteur distributed. The formation of Christian communities in Kanggye is very similar to those of the Korean Valleys.

According to Ross's report, at the beginning of 1890 a

these seem to be too narrow divisions of the period.

⁴² Underwood H.G., *The Call of Korea*, p.134.

⁴³ Ross, "A Remarkable Awakening in Corea", MRUPC for 1891, pp.328-9. (This report was written on 15th August 1890.)

Korean from Kanggye visited Ross and told him that there were a number of believers in the Kanggye area, converted through reading copies of a Bible Catechism printed by the London Religious Tract Society for Koreans in Moukden. This man, called Graduate Tsui⁴⁴ by Ross, came to apply for baptism. While Ross was teaching the Christian truth to Tsui, a colporteur of the Korean Valleys brought to Ross another man from Kanggye with a similar story. After that, Ross was visited by a member of the Korean police, with a letter to Tsui from the Mandarin second in rank in the city of Kanggye, asking for some books on Christian doctrine.

In the meantime, another messenger came to Ross "from the Mandarin of the city of Huch'ang,⁴⁵ sent by the Church of that city, urging the presence among them either of Tsui or Gong", who was reprinting some Korean tracts.⁴⁶ In order to obtain information regarding the condition of the professed believers in Kanggye, Ross sent Tsui with a number of copies of Korean tracts to Kanggye, along with a Korean compositor, Gong.⁴⁷ Soon after,

⁴⁴ Meaning of "Graduate" seems to be cho-si in Korean, a person who passed the first government examination for the official appointment, and Tsui seems to be a corrupted Chinese form of surname, Choe in Korean. This man was selected as helper of Kanggye Church by American missionaries in 1904.

⁴⁵ It was recorded Hootsang in MRUPC and Hochiung in MFMC-UPC.

⁴⁶ MFMC-UPC for 1891-92, no.8814: This is an abstract of Ross's letter of 19th September 1891. Ross was informed by the Mandarin that the number of believers had grown to 187 in that area. This man seems to be the Mandarin mentioned above.

⁴⁷ Ross described, "Tsui, though yet unbaptized, made a favourable impression, and was able to teach more satisfactorily than the compositor. He will ... after some further instruction be well adapted to act as evangelist there." (MFMC-UPC for 1891-92, no.8743)

Ross received a letter from the Mandarin conveying his thanks for the large quantity of tracts. The Mandarin wrote;

Along with these two gentlemen (Tsui and Gong), I visited the believers of the three cities of Gangge, Dsashung,⁴⁸ and Hootsang. In Gangge we examined over 100, of whom 10 men knew the truth well. In Dsashung we found over 90, of whom 7 were men of thorough understanding. In Hootsang there were more than 150; 15 of these were well informed."⁴⁹

The Mandarin also informed Ross that they "collected a sum of money to purchase a house, to be church for the members, and dwelling house for the hoped-for instructor, as well as for travelling expenses".⁵⁰ On this occasion, Ross again felt his responsibility for this Korean work, and proposed to the Home Committee that Tsui should be ordained as an elder "to baptism and organize into churches those believers whom he will consider worthy to be admitted into the Church".⁵¹ Ross also stated his plan to visit those areas in the spring of 1892 at his own expense. But because the Home Committee recommended that Ross bring the whole Korean question before the Manchurian Committee, and there is no further report on this matter from Ross, we do not know whether or not Tsui was ordained as an elder. Ross managed to visit the Korean Valleys only in March 1892.

One curious fact is that no missionaries in Korea mentioned ✓ the Christian communities in Kanggye area around that time. In the spring of 1889, when Mr and Mrs Underwood went on a wedding

⁴⁸ Dsashung seems to be "Chasŏng".

⁴⁹ MRUPC for 1891, p.329: It is said that the Mandarin sent to Ross a list of 32 believers, which was stamped with the official seal of Huch'ang city.

⁵⁰ MFMC-UPC for 1891-92, no.8814.

⁵¹ MFMC-UPC for 1891-92, no.8743.

trip towards the north,⁵² they visited Kanggye, but found no trace of Christians there. Mrs Underwood wrote;

We were much disappointed at not finding here any of the inquirers of whom we had been told so much, and to examine and instruct whom Mr. Underwood had turned so far aside from the main road to his final destination, Weeju [ũiju]. We could only conclude that they had either been too shy to approach us in the public quarters in which we were located or that we had been entirely misinformed, and we were forced very reluctantly to accept the latter as a fact. ⁵³

Later, along with the other matter, she criticized their informant as a deceptive or dishonest man. This man seems to have been Yi Sōng-ha, one of Ross's men, a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society in ũiju.⁵⁴ However, it indicates clearly that, before they visited there, they heard something of Kanggye Christian communities, but had not been able to find any trace of them. When Rev. S.A. Moffett and Rev. G.S. Gale,⁵⁵ of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. made a long trip from

⁵² It was certainly their wedding trip, but its main purpose was to explore the field. As Underwood crossed the Yalu river to Manchuria with thirty-three Koreans, and baptized them, -- because baptism of Koreans was then forbidden in the Korean territory -- it is known as "Jordan Baptism in Korea". (Underwood L.H., *Fifteen Years among the top-knots: life in Korea*, American Tract Society, New York, 1904, p.86: Underwood of Korea, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, London, and Edinburgh, 1918, p.89) This trip had taken two months from 14th March 1889. (*Fifteen Years among the Top-knots*, p.35 & 89) Mrs Underwood wrote that her husband had visited kanggye before, when he made his first itinerary to the north in the autumn of 1887, (*ibid.*, p.33) but he did not. The maiden name of Mrs Underwood was Dr. Liliias Horton. She went to Korea in 1888 and became a trusted physician to the Queen of Korea.

⁵³ Underwood L.H., *Fifteen years among the top-knots*, p.64.

⁵⁴ *op.cit.*, p.85:

⁵⁵ Gale was sent to Korea by the Young Men's Christian Association of Toronto University at the end of 1888 and became a missionary of the American Presbyterian Church in 1891.

Seoul to Moukden in the spring of 1891, they also visited Kanggye, but found no Christians.⁵⁶ It is certain that, when they met Ross and stayed for four days in Moukden, they must have learned from him of the Korean Christian communities in Manchuria and in northern Korea. The consequence of their meeting was that, in 1892, the American Presbyterian Church decided to undertake the work begun by Ross's men in the cities in northern Korea.⁵⁷ But lack of resources - men and money - prevented their real evangelistic work for northern Korea. A reference, which mentioned the transfer of Koreans in that region to the care of the North American missionary, appeared only in the report of 1903,⁵⁸ and this fact well illustrated the situation that northern Korea was a virtually unoccupied mission field by missionaries before 1900.

The actual work of the American missionaries for Kanggye

⁵⁶ Their trip was described in "The Yalu and Beyond" of Gale's book *Korean Sketches* (Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London, 1898, pp.72-103). They set out from Seoul on 25th February and returned to Seoul on 20th May 1891. Sō Sang-ryun was with them in this trip. Moffett wrote to F.F. Ellinwood, "Our evangelist [Sō Sang-nyun] is a thorough Christian and a man who commands respect and attention everywhere. He preaches and teaches the plain truths of the gospel from an experience of 15 years, being one of those who came to us through Mr. Ross of Moukden." (Moffett's letter to Ellinwood of 25th March 1891; Huntley, Martha, *To Start a work, Presbyterian Church of Korea*, 1987, p.162.)

⁵⁷ According to the Minute of the U.P. Church, Moffett wrote to the U.P. Church, agreeing to undertake the work (MFMC-UPC for 1892-93, no.9349). But his letter to Ellinwood shows that any immediate work from Korea was not possible. He wrote, "With the information there obtained we started for the Korean Valleys and I think have satisfactorily settled the fact that the work can be better done from China than from Korea as those Valleys are almost unapproachable from our side including north Korea." (Moffett's letter to Ellinwood of 21st May 1891; Huntley, op.cit., p.163.)

⁵⁸ ARBFM for 1903, p.230.

region was begun in 1900, when one colporteur was employed to make a special trip for this region. It was reported that he came back with the names of 50 people who were meeting in several groups.⁵⁹ Since the first baptism of a young man in Kanggye in 1902, the number of Christians grew so fast that it was necessary to establish a mission station with permanent missionary residence in 1908.⁶⁰ Although the North American missionaries were not able to find any trace of Christians earlier -- the reason for this will be examined in the next section -- the origin and development of Christian communities in this region was closely linked with the work of Ross's men. As the American missionaries admitted that some of the Kanggye Christian communities were the "result of the home missionary activities of the Uiju Christians,"⁶¹ they implied that the success in the Kanggye region was not the result of their work. In other words, like Korean Christian communities in Manchuria, Kanggye communities had also been autogenous, through reading the Bible

⁵⁹ ARBFM for 1901-2, p.209: This colporteur seems to be Kim Kwan-gŭn, son-in-law of Paek Hong-jun.

⁶⁰ In 1908, it was reported that there were 600 Christians in Kanggye, 300 in Chosan, and 100 in Tungkang. (KMF for Sept. 1908, p.139) These figures seem to be the number of communicants. In 1907, Rev. H.E. Blair reported, "The Kangkai [Kanggye] district has now three circuits, with three helpers, nineteen churches, 330 communicants, 455 catechumens, 1317 believers, thirteen school-teachers and three home missionaries entirely supported by the Korean Church, as well as two colporteurs, all of whom should have constant supervision. More recent letters from the field show that these figures have been greatly exceeded in the last few months. The work has developed fast and the people repeatedly write asking that the Station be opened without delay. They are eager and intelligent and among the most responsive and progressive in the province." (ARBFM for 1907 p.301)

⁶¹ ARBFM for 1911, p.290.

and tracts, and through preaching of the colporteurs rather than through the instruction of missionaries. Therefore, the autogenous formation of Christian communities was one of the characteristics of the early Korean Church, and this autogenous characteristic spontaneously forced the early Korean Church to be Bible-centred, lay person-oriented, and composed of self-supporting congregations.

(2) Christian Communities in Uiju

Wanted - by 4875 Eui Ju [Uiju] Christians, a missionary for Church and academy work. Salary 200 yen per month and house. Academy buildings and expenses all provided. Moving expenses to Eui Ju paid. American preferred. Must speak Korean.⁶²

This was an advertisement by the Uiju Christian communities put out to the American Presbyterian Mission in 1906. According to the official report of the American Presbyterian Church for 1907, there were twenty-eight church buildings, 1033 communicants, 1357 catechumens, and altogether 4698 believers. At that time, except for P'yŏngyang city, Uiju was "the largest Christian constituency in Korea, and certainly the largest in any place" without a resident missionary.⁶³ It is uncertain how often missionaries visited Uiju, a remote out-station.⁶⁴ It may be only once or twice a year. If so, the direct influence of the

⁶² Kearns C. E., "Eui Ju's Challenge", KMF, Aug. 1906, p.191.

⁶³ ARBFM for 1908, p.300.

⁶⁴ The same report for kanggye region, including the Korean valleys, reported that many Christians were too far away to be easy to reach, and commented that "they are happy if they see a missionary once a year". (ARBFM for 1908, p.301)

North American missionaries upon the growth of the Uiju Christian communities would be lessened. To this extent, the history of these communities will show another example of the autogeneity of the Korean Church.

The origin of the Uiju Christian communities may have begun from when the father of Paek Hong-jun received a copy of the Chinese New Testament and some tracts from Ross at the Korean Gate in October 1874. As I have already mentioned in Chapters two and three, through reading this Bible and these tracts, some young Koreans formed a group to study the Christian truth. This resulted in 1879 in the first Koreans' baptism before the opening of Korea. We know that most of Ross's men were from Uiju, and that they were sent by Ross to evangelize their friends and relatives. As the first evangelist, Paek Hong-jun, and a colporteur, Yi Sōng-ha, was sent to the Uiju area in 1882,⁶⁵ this date can be regarded as the real beginning of the Uiju Christian communities.

American missionaries also agreed that Uiju was the oldest out-station in Korea, where John Ross opened some work as early as 1882. However, they argued that the Uiju work had a "chequered experience", and 1887 was "the date usually set as the opening of the Christian Church" in Uiju.⁶⁶ They seem to have insisted that, although Ross began some work in Uiju in 1882,

⁶⁵ At almost the same time, Sō Sang-nyun was also sent to the capital region. It is not surprising that Yi Ung-ch'an also started his colportage in Uiju, his native village. (ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.178: Ross's letter of 9th October 1882)

⁶⁶ ARBFM of 1908, p.300.

the real missionary work was begun by themselves in the autumn of 1887, when Underwood made his first itinerating trip to Uiju. Underwood wrote;

Throughout the whole of the northern province it seemed evident that the wide seed-sowing that had been carried on from China, and the books that had been circulated, had had their effect, and the opportunities for effective work seemed more numerous in that direction than elsewhere. While, therefore, natives were employed to distribute and sell books in other parts of the land, the efforts of the missionaries were mainly directed thither, and their trips were almost entirely toward the north. A most promising work was opening up at Euiju [Uiju], and at one time there were gathered at this city from the surrounding villages and counties men to the number of over one hundred who asked to be received into full membership.⁶⁷

According to this statement, there were over one hundred believers in the Uiju region in 1887. It is certain that this was not the result of Underwood's work, but of Korean helpers, most of whom used to work for Ross and were later re-employed by the North Americans.⁶⁸ When Underwood visited again there during his second itinerating trip at the end of April 1889, he baptized thirty-three out of the hundred applicants in the Yalu River, on the Manchurian side.⁶⁹ Mrs Underwood described the baptized:

These men were not of the city of Weju [Uiju], but from some little hamlets at some distance, some of them fifteen or twenty miles away. Several of the men were already well known to Mr Underwood and had been under

⁶⁷ Underwood H.G., *The Call of Korea*, pp.137f.: According to Mrs Underwood, these applicants seem to have presented themselves before Underwood to ask for baptism in their second trip to Uiju. (Underwood L.H., *Fifteen Years Among The Top-knots*, pp.85f.) I think that Mrs Underwood's account is more reliable.

⁶⁸ The account of Underwood's second trip to Uiju in the spring of 1889, Mrs Underwood mentioned the names of Sō Sang-nyun, Paek Hong-jun, and Yi Sōng-ha, with whom they had companied. (Underwood L.H., *Fifteen Years Among The Top-knots*, pp.38-92: *Underwood of Korea*, pp.80-93)

⁶⁹ See note no.52.

instruction for more than a year, and some had been reported ready for baptism by Mr Saw [Sō], who had been employed by Mr Ross when he came to Seoul three years before.⁷⁰

From this statement, it is clear that some of the baptized met Underwood in 1887,⁷¹ but some of them had known the Christian truth through Sō Sang-nyun for more than three years. This indicates clearly that the foundation of the Uiju Christian communities was laid by the work of Ross. This "infant Church", as Underwood called it, had been "without a shepherd" for years. This situation must have resulted in the autogenous formation of Uiju Christian communities in order to keep and practice their faith.

✕ When Gale and Moffett visited Uiju on their way to Moukden in the spring of 1891,⁷² they wrote to Underwood to describe the condition of Uiju.

March 24, 1891, Mr. Gale writes: "I am surprised to find the result of your work as seen in Euiju [Uiju] and the surrounding villages. The people here are wonderfully awakened. We have not seen all the baptized members yet, but those we have seen are fine. Your accounts of Euiju to me have been more than realized." Under the same date, from the same place, Dr. Moffett wrote: "I now understand why you laid so much emphasis upon the desirability of opening this place. It makes my heart glad to see the interest these people have in the Gospel and with what freedom they talk of it. How

⁷⁰ Underwood L.H., *Fifteen years among the top-knots*, p.87.

⁷¹ I do not think that these men had first received Christian instruction from Underwood in 1887. They must have had some knowledge of Christianity before, through Ross's men.

(⁷² Sō Sang-nyun joined in this trip as a guide. Gale wrote: "We invited him to accompany us, first, because he was a pleasant gentleman, and second, because he spoke Chinese, and we did not know but we might go through Manchuria before returning." (*Korean Sketches*, pp.72f.) It is possible that their reason for visiting Moukden was to meet Ross in order to learn about his Korean work in Manchuria and northern Korea. From Uiju to Moukden, Paek Hong-jun also joined their party. (p.98)

much work they have done! I feel more enthusiastic over the work here than I have over anything yet seen." ⁷³

Both Gale and Moffett witness to the excellent condition of the missionary work done in Uiju at that time. At the end of 1890, the number of communicants of the North American Mission was 100.⁷⁴ But the number of Uiju Christians was already well over thirty in 1889. This fact proves that Uiju Christians had formed themselves into the strongest and largest Christian community in Korea by this time. For this reason, Gale and Moffett did not hesitate to recommend opening Uiju as the first station in north-western Korea.

But it is surprising that Gale was not able to see many of the baptized members,⁷⁵ who were always asking for a missionary to be sent to them. Underwood gave reasons for that situation: because Koreans of that time moved so freely from place to place, because no accurate record of the baptized was kept, and because Gale and Moffett made only a brief stay. But there may have been another reason: that may also have been the reason why the Underwoods were not able to trace any Christians in Kanggye.

On the one hand, it was a time when the Korean government had not yet officially lifted the ban on free contact with foreigners, and therefore, the baptized members in Uiju and believers in Kanggye may have had fear of presenting themselves

⁷³ Quoted from Underwood H.G., *The Call of Korea*, p.138

⁷⁴ ARBFM for 1891, p.136: At the end of 1892, 127 communicants were reported. (ARBFM for 1893, p.142)

⁷⁵ According to Mrs Underwood, they found none of the thirty-three baptized. (Underwood L.H., *Fifteen years among the top-knots*, p.87) But, Underwood indicates that Gale was able to see some of them. (Underwood H.G., *The Call of Korea*, p.138)

before foreign missionaries.⁷⁶ On the other hand, they may not have wanted to meet the North Americans because of a conflict of interests between Korean Christians and American missionaries. For instance, the purpose behind the Underwoods' trip in 1889 was to examine places, especially P'yŏngyang and Uiju, with a view to the establishment of a new station for the northern part of Korea.⁷⁷ When the Underwoods were on their way to Uiju from P'yŏngyang, they met Yi Sŏng-ha, who was on his way to Seoul. This was the beginning of a conflict of interest between Yi and Underwood. Mrs Underwood wrote:

Mr Underwood was at that time trying to decide whether Weju or Pyeng Yang would be the better place for a sub-station, with a half-formed plan to purchase a house, to which we could go when itinerating, in charge of which we might place a care-taker, who would also be helper, intending to select from among the converts in that region, if possible, one of the most capable and earnest. This plan was in part communicated to Mr. Yi, and seemed to strike him most favorably. He shortly proposed to procede us to Weju and select such a place.⁷⁸

With Underwood's consent to make inquiry only, Yi went to Uiju in advance to arrange their accommodation. When the Underwoods arrived there via Kanggye, they found that Yi had already bought a house by himself in spite of Underwood's instructions. On this matter, Mrs Underwood described Yi as a "scheming" man hoping "to profit by his dishonest trick", and "to

⁷⁶ Moffett witnessed his experience in Ui-ju in 1891; "We found several inquirers, but the people are as yet very suspicious of foreigners and afraid of Christian books". (His letter to Ellinwood of 25th March 1891; Huntley, op.cit., p.163)

⁷⁷ The other reason for his trip would be to find some results of the work of Ross's men in northern Korea. (cf. Clark C.A., *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1930, p.69)

⁷⁸ Underwood L.H., *Fifteen years among the top-knots*, p.82.

encourage every covetous hypocrite who sought to make gain out of the church and to misuse consecrated funds".⁷⁹ Although this matter was settled by returning the house to the original owner with a small amount of compensation, the incident would bring out distrust between Koreans and American missionaries in Uiju. Their distrust of Koreans was as deep as the following quotation shows;

We had had Christian workers at Weju for some months, one of whom Mr. Underwood had appointed and two who had constituted themselves such,⁸⁰ of whom we were doubtful then, and later had cause to be more so, and who now hoped to prove themselves so useful to us that we would give them some good-paying position in the mission. Several of our experiences at Weju were very bitter and disappointing to us, for the insincerity of men whom we trusted was made clear, ...⁸¹

It would be right to acknowledge that the motives of "the early converts were partly selfish":⁸² -- the desire to get a job such as household servant or language teacher for a missionary, colporteur, school teacher, etc. The Underwoods' previous impression of certain Koreans, who had these kinds of mercenary motives may have affected them in their judgement of Uiju Christians. The Underwoods' attitude towards Uiju Christian

⁷⁹ Underwood L.H., *Fifteen years among the top-knots*, p.85: She also added, he also deceived the BFBS, because there was no one to supervise him.

⁸⁰ They seemed to be Kim Kwan-gun, Paek Hong-jun, and Yi Sŏng-ha.

⁸¹ Underwood L.H., *Fifteen years among the top-knots*, p.84: According to her accounts, one of the self-appointed begged them to start a Christian school in expectation of being teacher with a good salary. Another man whom they had trusted gave them intentionally false and exaggerated information about Gangge supposing that they would not go there. (*ibid.*, pp.84f.)

⁸² Paik L.G.G., *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, p.165.

workers seems to have been a problem which created a disharmonious relationship between Uiju Christians and the American missionaries for years. This might therefore be the reason why Gale and Moffett could not find any baptized members in Uiju. If Ross did not exaggerate the matter, the following parts of his letters show a clear picture.

Two missionaries [Gale and Moffett] from Corea had informed Mr Ross that none of these [Kanggye] converts had called upon them for baptism or instruction, as they said, "We are Pastor Ross's converts, these men are Americans". ⁸³

As it had been recently reported that two American missionaries were now located in Yichow [Uiju], it was thought that the best plan would be to ask them to take oversight of the work. The Corean preacher Tsoi [Choe] is unwilling to work under the American Missionaries, but he has gone away under the distinct understanding, however, that Mr Ross cannot undertake the work. ⁸⁴

It is clear that, whatever the reasons were, believers in Uiju and Kanggye, or at least their leaders, did not want to present themselves before the American missionaries in the early 1890s. Thereafter, because of the lack of resources of the American mission, and of the geographical setting of Uiju,⁸⁵ the American mission did not establish a permanent mission station in Uiju, in spite of the strength of the Uiju Christian

⁸³ MFMC-UPC for 1891-92, no.8814: Ross's letter of 19th September 1891.

⁸⁴ MFMC-UPC for 1892-93, no.9154: Ross's letter of 21st January 1892.

⁸⁵ Because Uiju is located on the bank of the Yalu river and on the border between Manchuria and Korea, P'yŏngyang was selected as mission station of the North American Mission Board for northern Korea in 1904, in spite of the larger number of Uiju Christians. Again, Uiju was once more excluded from being selected as sub-station of P'yŏngyang, when Sinch'ŏn was selected in 1901, and Kanggye in 1908.

communities. This means that, with no resident missionary there, Uiju Christians had to be content with occasional visiting missionaries, and that they gathered by themselves around the leadership of local workers.

If some of the leaders, who were influenced by Ross, had not been joining in the Church, how could Uiju Christian communities have thirty fully self-supported churches with about 5000 Christians by 1906? It is true that Uiju had "always been a progressive church",⁸⁶ and "the banner county in the number of churches".⁸⁷ Without the commitment and passions of the early converts, it would not be possible. One typical example of their commitment can be seen in the story of Paek Hong-jun. When Paek was detected in communication with foreigners by the local authority in 1892, he was put in prison and asked to renounce his Christian faith. But his only answer to the authority was, "You may paddle me but you surely cannot stop my speaking"⁸⁸ about Christianity. Surely his commitment was the foundation of the Uiju Christian communities.

In addition, the insight and belief of Ross, who selected and sent the right men to Korea, cannot be left out in discussion of the foundation of the Korean Church. When Yi Sŏng-ha tried to

⁸⁶ Kearns C.E., "Eui Ju's Challenge", p.191.

⁸⁷ ARBFM for 1911, p.284: At this time, along with many small congregations, there were two congregations which enrolled more than 1500 believers.

⁸⁸ Gale, Korean Sketches, p.103: After being set free from prison in 1893, Paek died from his suffering during imprisonment. When he returned to Uiju from Moukden in 1882, he seems to have been once arrested because of being misunderstood as being a Roman Catholic. (cf. ECI-BFBS, vol.17, p.75: Ross's letter of 17th February 1882; cf. MRUPC for 1883, p.220)

smuggle the Scriptures into Korea, he was detected by an inn keeper, who would report this matter to the authorities. So Yi threw some of them into the Yalu river, and burnt some. When Ross heard of this incident, Ross said, "Whoever then drinks the waters of the Yalu or lives in the houses on which fall the ashes of burning Bible will believe in Christ!"⁸⁹ His words were soon realized in numerous Christian communities along the Yalu river, and their influence spread into the south.

(3) Sorae Church

After the publication of the Gospels of Luke and John, Ross sent Sō Sang-nyun, as evangelist and colporteur, with the Gospels toward Seoul in 1883. After Sō settled in his native village, Sorae in Hwanghae province, he travelled between Seoul and his home to distribute the Scriptures and tracts and to preach the Gospel. In 1884, Ross received a letter from Sō, reporting "that thirteen of his friends wished to receive baptism and be formed into a Christian church".⁹⁰ At the beginning of 1885, Ross was informed that there were seventy-nine persons ready for baptism. It was the result of Sō's two years' labours in Sorae and Seoul. On this matter, Ross's report to the BFBS was;

One of his converts came with him for baptism and it appears that he has opened what he calls a "Preaching Hall" in a city to the West of the capital where he has 18 believers, and another convert in a city to the South of the capital has "over 20" who are applying for

⁸⁹ KMF for 1908, p.139.

⁹⁰ MRUPC for 1890, p.188.

baptism.⁸¹

During this time, Sō seems to have visited and requested Ross in person to go to Seoul to baptize them. Ross wished very much to go to Seoul and requested permission from his home committee,⁸² in expectation of visiting Seoul in the autumn of 1885. Because of his difficult relationship with the home committee of that time,⁸³ Ross was not able to have the Board's sanction, and thus could not visit Seoul in 1885. But Ross was continuously in touch with Sō, sent the Scriptures and tracts to him, and gave him instruction. Ross's endless concern and effort with regard to the Korea Mission, along with Sō's devotion, resulted in the formation of "the cradle of Protestant Christianity in Korea".⁸⁴

According to the Underwood's account, Sō visited Underwood in Seoul at the end of 1886, with a letter of introduction from Ross, and told him that there were a number of converts seeking

⁸¹ ECI-BFBS, vol.20, p.143: Ross's letter of 8th March 1885: The Annual Report of BFBS for 1885, p.215.

⁸² MFMC-UPC for 1884-85, no.4648: His request was made on 2nd February 1885 from Moukden. His other reason for going to Seoul was to ascertain the proper pronunciation of the capital dialect, in connection with the Bible translation. (ECI-BFBS, vol.20, p.143) In fact, he had several invitations from his men in Korea.

⁸³ At that time, Ross possessed some property and built a Chinese inn on the mission compound, which brought about the awkward relationship between him and the Home Church. This matter will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁸⁴ Paik L.G.G., op.cit., p.139: Paik saw the Sorae Church as the cradle of Korean Church, because this church brought about the initiation of missionary itineration. It was also self-supporting from its beginning, and the first church building in Korea was erected there on 7th July 1895.

baptism in his village.⁸⁵ As Underwood was unable to visit at that time, in the beginning of 1887, a delegation of the Christian community of Sorae presented themselves before Underwood. Underwood wrote about this event:

They were examined before the whole Mission, and finding they had been believers for some years, and were able to state intelligently the ground of their faith, the Mission unanimously decided that three of them [delegation] should be admitted to the Church by baptism. ⁸⁶

From this statement, it is obvious that Sō had been working at his village for several years. Strangely, however, when Mr Bryant of the BFBS had visited Seoul for two months from the end of March 1887, he found no trace of Sō.⁸⁷ The Annual Report of the BFBS recorded:

This was a severe disappointment, as one of the chief objects of his journey was to confer with him. And he naturally feared that, as one or two Corean colporteurs had proved unworthy, Hsii [Sō] was of the same class. After Mr. Bryant's return to Tientsin, however, he was greatly rejoiced to receive a most favourable letter from the Rev. H. Underwood, of Seoul, stating that Hsii had made his appearance, and satisfactorily explained his long absence. He gave the best proof of his sincerity and zeal by bringing with him several Coreans

⁸⁵ Underwood H.G., *The Call of Korea*, p.107.

⁸⁶ Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, p.137: Mrs Underwood heard of this baptism in America, and wrote; "There is a note in one of the home letters of Mr. Hulbert, one of the government school teachers, telling how early in 1887 Mr. Underwood had asked him to keep the door while he baptized three converts, showing under how much tension the work was done and how necessary secrecy was supposed to be at that time, at least in receiving new believers." (*Underwood of Korea*, pp.61f.) One of the three was Sō Kyong-jo, who was the younger brother of Sō and one the first seven Presbyterian ministers ordained in Korea in 1907.

⁸⁷ ARBFBS for 1887, p.271: He landed at Pusan, in the extreme south-eastern corner of Korea, travelled through Japan from China, on 29th March, arrived at Seoul on 31st March, and left Seoul on 23rd May.

who wished to be baptized.⁹⁸

The rest of the report suggests that this is the same visit as that mentioned by Underwood. This gives rise to a question. If Sō first visited Underwood in 1886, it is surprising if Bryant did not know that Sō had been working in Sorae for several years. Supposing Sō to have made two visits, the first made with a letter of Ross, and the second with a group of people, it is unlikely that Underwood mixed up two such distinct events. There seems to be no reasonable explanation, but both events may have occurred after May 1887.

Supposing Underwood's record to be correct, he may deliberately not have informed Bryant about Sō Sang-nyun's presence, as he seemed to object to the Ross Version, and was preparing his own translation at that time.⁹⁹ In 1884, Sō received 6000 copies of the Gospels from Ross through P.G. von Möllendorff, a German who was sent by the Chinese Government and was working as a foreign adviser and customs officer. This news would have spread widely within the small foreign community in Seoul, especially to the missionaries. If so, Sō must have been known to Underwood long before he met Bryant. As far as Sō is concerned, he had once been arrested on the border in relation to possessing Christian religious books in 1883, and so he may have

⁹⁸ ARBFBS for 1887, p.271.

⁹⁹ Underwood wrote to the Board on 22nd January 1887; "We are to have several baptisms on next Sunday and the men who have applied seem to be thoroughly in earnest. They are some of the offshoots, as it were, from some of Ross' work in the North." (quoted from Shearer, Roy E., *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1966, p.41) This statement indicates that Underwood must have known the existence of Sō Sang-ryun.

tried to avoid any contact with foreigners in Seoul,¹⁰⁰ because of his imprisonment on the border, the political situation with regard to missionary activities, and the missionaries' close relationship with the ruling class at that time.

Whenever the two events happened, the information concerning Sorae Christians, along with the others in northern Korea, brought about Underwood's first itinerating trip up to Uiju in the autumn of 1887.¹⁰¹ At this time, Underwood baptized seven men at Sorae, who had, of course, been converted by Sŏ. Whether or not they were formed into an organized church at that time, Sorae was the only place having over ten baptized Christians in 1887, and won the householders of fifty out of fifty-eight in the village in a few years. In this sense, it may be called as "the cradle of the Korean Church".

Like the other Christian communities in Uiju and Kanggye, Sorae had no resident missionary, although many missionaries frequently visited there, as Sorae beach became "the summer resort for weary missionaries".¹⁰² This fact implies that the

¹⁰⁰ According to Ross's report, Sŏ seems to have considered Ross as his only pastor to trust at that time. Ross wrote: "I specially regret my inability to go to the Corean capital to examine the professed believers there, now said to number over a hundred, all of the middle and higher classes, to whom the colporteur belongs. As his pastor, he has been anxious for me and no other to go, so that, as he informs me, he has not reported himself to the American missionaries newly settled there." (MRUPC for 1887, p.226)

¹⁰¹ Underwood H.G., The Call of Korea, p.108.

¹⁰² Underwood L.H., Underwood of Korea, pp.69f.: There was an independent missionary who had lived in Sorae from February 1894 to May 1895. He was the Rev. William John McKenzie (15 July 1861 - 23 July 1895), who shot himself after having sunstroke. For his life, see E.A. McCully, A Corn of Wheat: The Life of Rev.

influence of the North American missionaries was not greater than that of Sō, who had been taught by Ross in Moukden. It is also obvious that the baptized members in Sorae must have been converted through Bible study under the instruction of Sō. In relation to the self-support of Sorae Church, Dr. O.R. Avison said at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference of 1900 that "Sō cleared the way for the further introduction of the principle of self-support in the native church.... The result was that we [American Mission] have in that neighborhood now the strongest church in Korea, self-supporting in every particular.⁽¹⁰³⁾ After the erection of the church building by themselves on 7th July 1895, the Sorae congregation grew so quickly that they had to enlarge the building. Underwood recorded:

Before a month was passed, under the unpaid ministrations of Brother So Kyeng Jo [Sō Kyōng-Jo], the building was too small, and steps were taken for its enlargement. Before a year was out its capacity was doubled, and two neat classrooms were added.¹⁰⁴

By 1900, Sorae congregation had planted twelve other churches in that area, and became the centre for the Province. Sō and his bother's labours and influences were not localized in Sorae, but reached from northern Korea to the capital. Therefore, if the Sorae Church is the cradle of the Korean Church, Sō is one of founders of the Korean Church.

W.J. McKenzie of Korea, The Westminster Press, Toronto, 1904 (2nd ed.); cf. McLeod Harvey, "Rev. William John McKenzie of Korea", MRW, Sept., 1896, pp.680-84.

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900: Report of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Mission, vol.2, American Tract Society, New York, 1900, p.307.

¹⁰⁴ Underwood H.G., "An Object-lesson in self-support", MRW, June 1900, p.445

(4) Saemunan Church in Seoul

Since the arrival of the first missionary in Seoul in 1884, Seoul had always had the strongest missionary force. However, the early missionaries had to be very cautious in their evangelistic work due to the prohibition of the Christian religion and the uncertainty of the government's policy toward them. They had to be content with their medical and educational work only. Although the political power of government was declining at that time, the people in the capital were still very much under its influence. This may be one of the reasons why churches in the capital grew more slowly than those of the other regions, where the government's power could not be exercised properly.

For instance, in the spring of 1888 Underwood and Appenzeller set out for an itinerating trip to the north. After two weeks, in P'yŏngyang, they received a letter from Hugh A. Dinsmore, the American Minister at Seoul. His letter shows clearly the political situation.

I had received from the Korean foreign office, by the order of his majesty, the king, a dispatch stating that it is well known to the Korean government that Americans residing in Korea are engaged in different ways in disseminating the doctrine of the Christian religion; citing the fact that it is objectionable to the government, not authorized by the treaty, and demanding that it shall cease. My aid, as the minister of the United States, being invoked to this end, it becomes my duty to request that you will refrain from teaching the Christian religion and administering its rites and ordinances to the Korean people.¹⁰⁵

This letter was written just after the King's decree

¹⁰⁵ Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1888, pp.337f.: quoted from Paik, op.cit., p.155.

against religious propaganda in 1888. Dinsmore advised them to return immediately to Seoul, which they did. The main purpose behind the decree seems to have been to suppress Roman Catholicism, and since the decree did not specify the "Roman Catholic religion", the American missionaries had to obey the law. In this situation, it is not surprising that evangelistic work was carried out secretly, and the result of such work was not great.¹⁰⁶ In fact, during the 1890s, direct missionary work in Seoul had to be carried out almost solely through Bible distribution by Koreans.

According to MacIntyre's report, Paek Hong-jun had already made several visits to Seoul by 1885.¹⁰⁷ Although his purpose is not mentioned in the report, it must have been to circulate Scriptures and tracts. We know that many anonymous Koreans who contacted Ross in Manchuria also brought some Christian books. But a key figure for the work in Seoul at this time is of course Sŏ Sang-nyun. It is unfortunate that his activity was not recorded in detail. However, we can easily see his influence from

¹⁰⁶ The result of the incident was well described by Paik(*op.cit.*, pp.155ff.): "From the month of May until the following September (1888) all religious activities among the Koreans, including morning prayers at schools and Sunday service, were abandoned. The terror was even greater among the Christian communities in the country. When the missionaries visited their proselytes in the following year, they found that they had burned all the Christian literature and had ceased their religious practices to the degree that in some section of the country not traces of missionary work could be found." (cf. ARBFBS for 1889, p.282) During this period, another incident, so-called "Baby Riot", was involved. Some political agitators rumored that foreigners kidnapped children to eat and to use their eye, and seem to have plotted a massacre of Westerners such as the Tientsin massacre of 1870 in China. This plot was not realized. (cf. The Gospel in All Lands for July 1896, p.343)

¹⁰⁷ MRUPC for 1885, p.218.

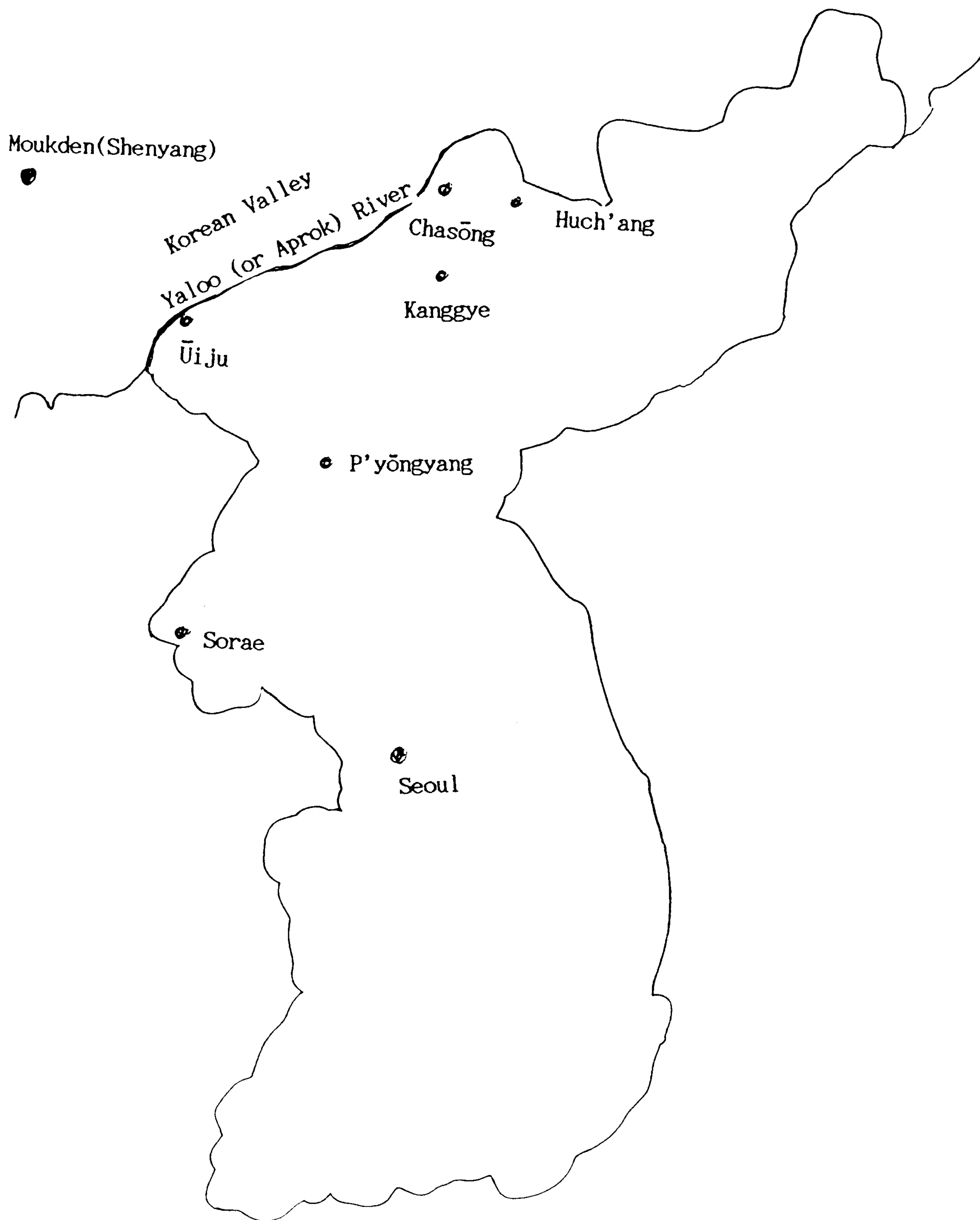
the following account of the formation of Saemunan Church.

In connection with the New Testament I went to the capital by sea, which made the journey both possible and easy, arriving on an evening which was to me of peculiar interest. My host, the Rev. Mr. Underwood, informed me that he was to go to his little chapel that night to organize his small company into a Presbyterian church. Gladly accepting his kind invitation, I accompanied him and his medical colleague, when the darkness had fairly enmantled the city.... A gentle tapping at a paper window secured our entry into a room, where we found a company of fourteen well dressed, intelligent-looking men. One of these was baptized that night, but the principal business was the election by the others of two men to be their elders. Two were unanimously elected, and the next Sabbath ordained.¹⁰⁸

✓ On the day Ross arrived in Seoul at the end of September 1887, the first Protestant congregation, Saemunan Church, was formed. It was an extraordinary coincidence, or providence, that Ross should have witnessed the formation of the first congregation - especially as he found out that thirteen of the fourteen baptized members were converted principally through the work of Sō,¹⁰⁹ His further joy was that there were over 300 potential believers who had not yet professed their belief publicly for various reasons. Ross praised Sō as the human instrument in starting this remarkable movement.

¹⁰⁸ Ross, CDK, p.247: cf. MRUPC for 1890, p.188: Underwood wrote on 7th October 1887, "A week ago Tuesday we completed the organization of a Presbyterian church by the election of two elders, whom we ordained last Sunday. We organized with fourteen members, and took in one more on Sunday." (Letter from H.G. Underwood, *The Church at Home and Abroad*, vol.3, Feb., 1888, p.196: quoted from Paik, op.cit., p.140)

¹⁰⁹ Ross, CDK, p.247: Ross said that two of them were "cousins of the man who had gone from Moukden". The man seems to be Sō Sang-nyun, who was away in another province at the time of Ross's visit to Seoul. Underwood also reported to the BFBS that those baptisms were chiefly the fruits of Sō's labour. (ARBFBS for 1888, p.287): ARBFM-USA for 1890 also records that they were Ross's men. (p.134)



This congregation, begun with the converts of Sō, had worshipped in the little building on the mission compound until it became too small for them in 1895. According to the suggestion by one of the deacons, Yi Chun-ho, that the members alone should put up the new church, they raised money and volunteered to do what they could. On Christmas Day of 1895, the new church building, which had been built entirely by the congregation, was dedicated.¹¹⁰ It is a typical example of the self-supporting character of the Korean Church.

3. Characteristics of the early Christian Communities

In this chapter, I have tried not only to prove the influence of the Ross Version, of Ross himself, and of his men, but also to define the characteristics of the early Christian communities in Korea, hoping to emphasize the importance of the introduction of the Word of God for the whole mission history. In one sense, it is right to say that the mission history of a certain country starts from the point that the missionary lands in that country. On the other hand, even if there is a missionary presence, if the word of God is not preached properly, that missionary presence cannot be regarded as the beginning of Christian history in the full sense. In other words, irrespective of the missionary presence, without the Word of God, the real missionary work cannot begin; but even without the missionary

¹¹⁰ Underwood H.G., "Principles of self-support in Korea", KMF, June, 1908, p.93: Underwood wrote, "The mission gave nothing but the site, the tiles, and a few timbers".

(1) The Bible-Centred Church

When we apply this proposition to the history of the Korean Church, it becomes clearer that the introduction of the Word of God is the most important element in mission. One may argue that, although there were already a number of converts in Korea before the arrival of a missionary, Korea was only one of a few exceptional cases. But in early Korean Church history, even under the missionary presence, the typical pattern of conversion was through reading the Scriptures. It is not surprising that the first baptism inside Korea also resulted from Bible reading.

A Korean, No ~~TO~~-sa, who was interested in Christianity, became a teacher of Dr. Heron (or perhaps his student, to learn English) in order to get more information about Christianity. After he had read some tracts for months, Mr. No had a chance to take two Gospels, Matthew and Luke from Dr. Allen's study.¹¹¹ The next morning, after he spent the whole night in reading these two Gospels, he came to Underwood with them to ask for explanation of what he could not understand. In the early part of 1886, he applied for baptism after some more study of all the Gospels, and he was secretly baptized on 11th July 1886.¹¹² He became the first baptized Christian in Korea. It is also

¹¹¹ Underwood wrote that these were Chinese Gospels. (Underwood's letter from Seoul, 29th July 1886: *The Foreign Missionary*, vol.45, no.5, October 1886, pp.223f. But he also wrote "two books, marked in Chinese". (Underwood H.G., *The Call of Korea*, p.106) There is a possibility that these were copies of Yi Su-jōng's translation, which Underwood brought with him from Japan in 1885.

¹¹² Underwood H.G., *The Call of Korea*, p.106: cf. Underwood L.H., *Underwood of Korea*, p.55.

interesting that Mr. Thomson, of the NBSS in Japan, attended that service. He reported:

It was reading the Scriptures, and the Scriptures only, that led him to the knowledge of the truth. He said so himself, and Mr. Underwood testifies to the truth of the statement.¹¹³

This was not the result of study of the Ross Version. But this conversion shows clearly the importance of the Bible rather than the missionary presence. From the same perspective, it is not surprising that Choi Sŏng-gyun, the first baptized member of the Methodist church in Korea and a colporteur of Appenzeller, was also converted through study of the Scriptures.¹¹⁴ The early converts planted the tradition which gave priority to the Scriptures. As soon as anyone was converted, he formed a Bible study group with his friends and relatives, and when this group turned into a form of congregation, it became a Bible class. The Bible class of the early church became the most important foundation of the Great Revival Movement in 1907. As a great number of Christians throughout the whole of Korean Church history have been converted through the study of the Bible, it is not difficult to say that Korean Christians are characterized by their "devotion to the reading of the Holy Scriptures".¹¹⁵

¹¹³ ARNBSS for 1886, p.44: Thomson came to Korea for the inspection of his colporteur in Korea.

¹¹⁴ According to Appenzeller's diary of 7th August 1887, Choi was baptized in 1881 by John MacIntyre in Moukden. Another diary of 9th October 1887 recorded that Appenzeller received one of Ross's converts into the school and hired another as colporteur (Huntley, *To Start a Work*, p.572). But Clark A.D., in his *History of the Church in Korea*, said that Choi was converted through study of the Ross Version in 1887 (p.87)

¹¹⁵ Owen, Donald D., *Revival Fires in Korea*, Nazarene Publishing House, Kansas City, Missouri, 1977. p.34: He sees that the Korean Church has been characterized as a Bible church from

In relation to Bible study, the memorization of Biblical verses has been another characteristic of Korean Christians. At the time of the publication of the Ross Version, the memorizing of writings was the common educational system, since texts were not easily available to people. This system has become a part of the tradition of Christian life in Korea. Mrs Underwood wrote of her experience in Uiju in 1889:

One man was quite a phenomenon of a rather useless kind of Biblical erudition. He knew the number of chapters and verses in the Old and New Testament (Chinese, of course), the number of characters, the number of times the name of God and Christ occur, and a variety of similar facts, showing he had an extremely facile memory, but proving nothing with regard to his conversion. I could not help regarding the poor man with compassion. It seemed too bad that he should have taken so much pains and spent so many hours of toil to gain non-essentials when the sweet bread of life and honey out of the rock might have been had so simply and easily, had he only really wanted them, had he learned enough of their wondrous value to desire them. I am afraid that this man and some of the others that we questioned had no inkling of what Christianity really is,... ¹¹⁶

Although she sympathized with, but was rather critical of the man and his compassion, this would certainly not be an unusual experience for missionaries. She might have been right in saying that this kind of ability had nothing to do with conversion, but she did not seem to understand that it was a common tradition at that time, that one had better memorize and be able to recite the contents of important texts in acquiring new knowledge. Ross recognized the habit of memorizing with the

the Revival Movement in 1907. Although systematic Bible study in the church was one of the key elements for the success of the Revival Movement, this element existed from the beginning of Korean Church history.

¹¹⁶ Underwood L.H., Fifteen years among the top-knots, p.86.

most rigorous exactitude from his Chinese experience. He said;

This endless exercise of the memory makes it both retentive, accurate, and remarkably ready to receive or to retain whatever instruction is imparted.... It is easy for them [Chinese] to memorise the verbiage of Scripture, to be familiar with its incidents, its parables, its allusions to social customs, its national characteristics, and the circumstances connected with the ordinary life of the Jews.... The Christians here have therefore been always taught that beneath every incident, and involved in every historical fact and reference, in the Bible, there lies a principle universally applicable for instruction, for warning, for guidance, for exhortation, or for encouragement; and that to this principle, rather than to the fact embodying it, they must pay attention. ¹¹⁷

Unlike Mrs Underwood, Ross saw the advantage of this kind of educational system. Therefore he set up for Chinese people the above principle, and urged them "to engrave it in the hearts, and apply it to the social circumstances of their own daily life".¹¹⁸ Although he saw that "Chinese education, which so thoroughly trains the memory, is deficient in logical accuracy",¹¹⁹ Ross believed that this "defect in Chinese education must be remedied by the Church in order to make of the Christians the best possible preachers, evangelists, and pastors".¹²⁰ He was firmly convinced that this kind of training would be of far greater importance for the Chinese Christians than a knowledge of all the science of the West. For Chinese could "acquire most scientific knowledge by the aid of their wonderful memory".¹²¹

Ross must have realized that Korea had the same educational

¹¹⁷ Ross, MMM, pp.108f.

¹¹⁸ MMM, p.109.

¹¹⁹ MMM, p.110.

¹²⁰ MMM, p.111.

¹²¹ MMM, p.111.

system from his Korean converts while he examined them for baptism. Even today, many churches encourage their members to recite Biblical passages, and sometimes have a reciting competition between members of the congregation. It is clear that the Bible class and the recitation of the Bible passages have been deeply influential in the life of the Korean Church.

(2) The lay oriented Church

While examining the formation of Christian communities, I have already suggested that a lay orientation Church was one of the typical characteristics of the early Korean Church. It is unnecessary to give examples in detail. In a word, there being not enough missionaries, most early Christians were converted through the Bible, and they established their own congregations. This situation is parallel with the beginning of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea.

Yi Sŭng-hun was sent to Peking by a group of Sirhak scholars, who were interested in Catholicism after studying some tracts, in order to get more knowledge of Catholic teachings. He was baptized and became the first Catholic convert in 1783. Immediately after he returned to Korea with some Catholic tracts, he set himself to work to proclaim his new knowledge, formed a study group for the reading of Catholic teachings with his friends, and baptized a number of converts. Having no priest, they organized their own church, with a bishop and priests, the celebration of Mass, the hearing of confessions, and all the other practices of the Catholic Church, as he had learned them in

China. Stephen Neill considers it as "an astonishing example of lay Christianity creating and maintaining itself in a remote and inaccessible area".¹²²

Both Catholic and Protestant examples can be considered as models of an indigenous church. The early converts built a place for worship at their own expense, and they believed that the native agent, as Ross always encouraged, should be able to carry out his wish to preach the Gospel at his own expense. Unlike the early Catholic situation, Protestants expected missionaries to go frequently to examine applicants, and admit them into the Church. Nevertheless, they governed their own churches by themselves.

(3) The self-supporting Church

Related to the lay character of the early Korean Church is a second feature: its desire to be entirely self-supporting. The early converts, no doubt under the supervision or guidance of Ross, set the pattern of the self-supporting congregation, providing the initiative for church extension, church building and provision for maintenance. In a narrow sense, they were almost fully self-supporting with some small financial help from the mission societies. In a broad sense, they were governing their own congregation, and propagating the Gospel by themselves. There is an indissoluble connection between this characteristic and the Nevius mission policy, which was adopted

¹²² Neill S., A History of Christian Missions, Penguin Books, 1964, p.414.

from the beginning of the Korean mission by the American missionaries. This point will be fully examined in the next chapter, but it is noteworthy that there had already been many self-supporting churches in Korea, before the Nevius Mission Method had fully taken shape. Underwood reported the situation up to 1900:

I believe that the progress of the work in Korea is very largely due to God's blessing the methods that we have adopted. The very fact that the burden of preaching the gospel is put down upon the natives has given to us a church of earnest Christian workers who are fast carrying the gospel throughout the whole land. To-day, out of 188 imperfectly organized Presbyterian churches, 186 are entirely self-supporting. In them we have an adult membership of nearly 3000, of whom 865 were added during the year. ¹²³

Underwood may have been right in saying that the adoption of these mission methods was an important factor in the growth of the Church at that time, as the majority of those churches began to be organized after 1890. "The Chinese Church by Chinese" and "the Korean Church by Koreans" in every aspect, which is the first principle of self-support, was Ross's key mission method, and it is certain that Ross taught his men this rule. In this respect, we can easily say that the self-supporting character had already existed before the adoption of the mission methods by the American missionaries.

If we can judge that the foundation of the Korean Protestant Church was firmly established before 1900 when the missionaries were not yet really settled, the importance of the effect which the Ross Version and his personal influence had exercised upon the early Korean Church, cannot be underestimated.

¹²³ New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference in 1900, vol.2, p.302.

In particular, the fact that the fastest growth of the Church was in north-western Korea, which had been most influenced by Ross and his men, is strong evidence of the importance of Ross's work. This was not only the case for the Presbyterian missions. The Methodist Church also profited by the works of Ross and his men.¹²⁴ The Methodist History of Korea records:

The work of John Ross, missionary at Moukden, China, in translating the New Testament into Korean and sending it across the border, had permanent value. The American missionaries found a leaven at work when they came.

Moreover, their work was greatly accelerated by their use of the popular language with its completely phonetic alphabet. Braving the scorn of the educated, they immediately began to learn Korean, to speak it among the people, to use it as a medium of teaching, both in the schools and through their printed materials, and they were rewarded with a church in which the Bible was universally read.¹²⁵

Along with the importance of the Ross Version, their conclusion concerning the first decade of Korean Mission is that

¹²⁴ Shearer, Roy E., *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, p.169. As the first communicants and leaders in the Presbyterian Church were men who had heard the Gospel through Ross and his men, Shearer agreed with Dr. Stokes that the early success of the Presbyterian missionaries was "the reaping of a harvest of converts of John Ross". (Stokes Charles Davis, *History of Methodist Missions in Korea, 1885-1930*: Yale University, Doctoral thesis, 1947, p.91)

✓ ¹²⁵ Barclay, Wade Crawford, *The Methodist Episcopal Church 1845-1939*, (History of Methodist Missions in six volumes), vol.3: *Widening Horizons*, The Board of Mission of the Methodist Church, New York, 1957, p.757: In relation to Ross's literary work, W.B. Scranton, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, praised:

Nor must we forget the Rev. John Ross, who taught several of us our Korean alphabet through his primer; who gave us several of our helpers as the result of his Bible work from Manchuria, and who with the Rev. John MacIntyre, pioneered in Scripture translation and gave us that foundation in Biblical Korean for which I take pleasure here in registering my lasting gratitude. ("Historical Sketch of the Korea Mission of the Methodist Church, *The Korean Repository*, vol.5, July, 1898, p.260: quoted from Paik L.G.G., *op.cit.*, p.142)

the Korean Church was "a Bible church, a giving church, a laymen's church, a family church - to this goal Korea was on the way by 1895".¹²⁶

(4) The renaissance of the Korean vernacular, Han'gŭl

There is an important by-product of Ross's translation. But the Ross Version also contributed greatly to the enlightenment of Korean literature in general by using the vernacular, which was at that time little regarded as being "vulgar script". The Gospels of Luke and John, and some tracts which were published in 1882, were the first printed books in Korean. Before that, there existed only a handful of items transcribed literatures.¹²⁷ Although it can be said that the real renaissance of Han'gŭl began with the use of Han'gŭl by the missionaries and mission schools, the Ross Version must have first stimulated the use of Han'gŭl by Koreans. Many illiterate Christians had to learn how to read Han'gŭl through the Bible class, and it would be natural for many non-Christians to receive a fresh impetus from the Han'gŭl learning movements by Christians.

The Ross Version, which was translated when no standard

¹²⁶ Barclay W.C., *Widening Horizons*, p.757.

¹²⁷ For this reason, the study of Ross Version has been carried out by scholars of Korean linguistic and literature more than by Church historians or Biblical scholars. The Ross Version is the most important text for the study of Korean linguistics at the end of the nineteenth century. For the brief history of Korean literature, see "the cultural background" section in chapter one.

Korean grammar was available,¹²⁸ seems to have formed the basis of a new vernacular literature as well as the renaissance of Han'gŭl. For instance, the first newspaper in Korean, Tongnip-sinmun (The Independent News), was issued only on 7th April 1896, fourteen years later than the publication of the first Gospel. We know that Ross tried to make a common translation using the vernacular language, which the majority of Koreans, including women and children, could read. Indeed, his emphasis on the vernacular language played an important role in the education and emancipation of women. Although these things were not his objectives, Ross played a conspicuous part in the modern history of Korea as well as of the Korean Church.

¹²⁸ The first modern Korean grammar was compiled only in 1906 by Chu Si-gyŏng, who had been strongly influenced by Christianity.

CHAPTER SIX

ROSS'S MISSION METHODS AND THE KOREAN CHURCH

In the previous chapter, I have argued that there are three characteristics of the early Korean Church; it was Bible centred, lay person centred, and self-supporting. Many Church historians understand that these features were originated or influenced by the Nevius mission method. But undoubtedly, as we have seen, these elements had already existed in the early Christian communities before the Nevius method was introduced in Korea. A more interesting fact is that Ross's mission method is quite similar to Nevius's. These facts raise a series of questions: is there any relation between the two mission methods? How much was the early Korean Church influenced by the Nevius method? Did both mission methods have something to do with the formation of the early Korean Church? etc. A brief comparison of mission methods of Ross, and of Nevius, along with the mission policy of the Council of Missions in Korea adopted in 1893, will give us a more comprehensive picture of the formation of the early Korean Church.

1. The Nevius Mission Method and the Korean Church

It has been almost uncritically accepted by both Korean and Western scholars that the Nevius Method was the most important factor in the growth of the early Korean Church. For instance, Donald McGavran understands that the Nevius Method was well

tested and had produced marvellous results in Korea, and further develops his indigenous principles based on the Nevius Method.¹ Therefore, it is important to find out the real relationship between the Nevius Method and the Korean Church during the formation period before 1900. In this section, I will briefly discuss what the Nevius Method is, and how much it has influenced upon the growth of the early Korean Church.

(1) The origin of the Nevius Mission Method

The so-called Nevius Mission Method was named after the Rev. John Livingston Nevius (4 March 1829 - 19 October 1893) of the China Mission,² of the Presbyterian Church in the USA. Nevius was educated at Ovid Academy and Union College until 1848, graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1853, and arrived in Ningpo in 1854. He started evangelistic work in San-Poh and opened a new mission station in Hangchow in 1859. In 1861, he

¹ McGavran, Donald, *Understanding Church Growth*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1978 (1st ed. 1970), pp.336-353: In his book *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, Roy E. Shearer, through a comprehensive survey of the circumstances (from socio-political, cultural, religious, and anthropological perspectives), argues that the Nevius Method was not the most important factor of Church growth in Korea. In his book, McGavran conveniently used Shearer's graph of church growth in Korea, but ignores Shearer's conclusions as "the ordinary conclusions about church growth in Korea based on the general fact that the Church there has grown greatly"(p.117). He seems to argue that McGavran used some statistics in proof of his theory of church growth.

² For his life, see Helen S.C. Nevius, *The life of John Livingston Nevius* Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1895; F.F. Ellingwood, "Rev. John L. Nevius, D.D.", *The Church at Home and Abroad*, February, 1894; Gillert Reid, "The Rev. John L. Nevius, D.D.", *Missionary Review of the World*, May 1894; Arthur T. Pierson, "John Livingston Nevius, the modern Apostle of China", *MRW*, Dec., 1895.

moved into Shantung province and established a mission, where his mission methods were developed. His major works in English are: San-Poh in 1869; China and the Chinese in 1892; Methods of Mission Work in 1886; and Demon Possession and Allied Themes in 1894.

His Method of Mission Work first appeared as a series of articles in the Chinese Recorder in 1885. This was reprinted as a book by the American Presbyterian Press in Shanghai in 1886. Again it was reprinted in 1899 under the title of The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches by the Foreign Mission Library of the Presbyterian Board in New York.³ In this book, through his rich experience in China, he advocated three-self principles --- self-propagation, self-government, and self-support --- as the basic mission principles for the establishment of an indigenous Church in the non-western World.

His idea of three-self principles might not have been his own, but have been influenced by Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society or Rufus Anderson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.⁴ Because the "three-self formula" was originated by Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson, and

³ It was again reprinted by Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing Company, Philadelphia, 1976. I consulted this edition. (Hereafter PDMC): There is another brief but important article on mission method by him. ("Historical Review of Missionary Methods - past and present - in China, and how far satisfactory", Record of the Missionary Conference in Shanghai, American Presbyterian Press, 1890 pp.167-177)

⁴ For their thoughts on mission methods, see Max Warren, ed., To Apply the Gospel: A Selection from the Writings of Henry Venn, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1971; Shenk, W.R., Henry Venn - Missionary Statesman, Orbis, Maryknoll, New York, 1983; R. Pierce Beaver, To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1967.

there is a strong similarity between the Nevius Method and their mission principles. However, the Nevius Method differs from the others, in a sense that he advocated his theory after applying and examining it in the Chinese context, while both Venn and Anderson, as Secretaries of the mission bodies, developed their theories before personally testing their principles in the mission fields.

(2) The Nevius Mission Method

Nevius defined that the so-called "Old" method depended on "paid native agency" and "foreign funds to foster and stimulate the growth of the native churches in the first stage" of missionary work, and that the "New" system deprecated and sought "to minimize" the paid native agency and foreign funds as "principles of independence and self-reliance from the beginning."⁵ From this general statement, Nevius seems to have suggested his mission method as an universal model for the planting and development of missionary churches in any mission field.

In America, his method seems to "have been highly endorsed by many mission board secretaries",⁶ and to have been used as one of the text-books for missiology by many theological institutions for decades. For instance, The Interdenominational Conference of Foreign Missionary Boards and Societies in the United States and

⁵ Nevius, PDMC, p.8.

⁶ Nevius, PDMC, p.3 (from "note prefatory to third edition" on 1st March 1899).

Canada organized in 1894 a special Committee on Self-support in Mission Churches, and the Committee in 1898 urged all the missions to make trial of the Nevius method in the general work of evangelization.⁷ Consequently the Nevius method has drawn the attention of various scholars.

One of the major studies of the Nevius Method was done by Charles Allen Clark, who was a missionary for twenty-seven years from the first decade of the twentieth century.⁸ As his book was styled in the form of a case study, Nevius did not present precise principles in a logical way. Clark give us a brief summary of the Nevius method as follows;⁹

1. Missionary personal evangelism through wide itineration.
2. Self-propagation: every believer a teacher of someone, and a learner from someone else better fitted; every individual and group seeking by the "layering method" to extend the work.
3. Self-government: every group under its chosen unpaid Leaders; circuits under their own paid Helpers, who will later yield to Pastors; circuit meetings training the people for later district, provincial and national leadership.
4. Self-support: with all chapels provided by the believers; each group, as soon as founded, beginning to pay towards the circuit Helper's salary; even schools to receive but partial subsidy, and that only when being founded; no pastors of single churches provided by foreign funds.
5. Systematic Bible study for every believer under his group Leader and circuit Helper; and of every Leader

⁷ Report of Interdenominational Conference of Foreign Missionary Boards and Societies in the America and Canada for 1898, New York, p.23. According to Dr. Arthur J. Brown, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Western India Mission adopted the Nevius method in 1896. (Report for 1897, p.37)

⁸ Clark C.A., The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods, Fleming H. Revell, New York, 1930. This was submitted as a dissertation for the Doctorate of Philosophy at the University of Chicago, June, 1929.

⁹ Clark C.A., Korean Church and Nevius Methods, pp.33f.

- and Helper in the Bible classes.
- 6. Strict discipline enforced by Bible penalties.
- 7. Co-operation and union with other bodies, or at least territorial division
- 8. Non-interference in lawsuits or any such matters.
- 9. General helpfulness where possible in the economic life problems of the people.

This is a brief, but comprehensive summary of the Nevius method. J.M. Davis seems to have also summarized it exactly the same as Clark, only omitting the eighth point.¹⁰ Roland Allen, reviewing Clark's *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, pointed out that only two elements, self-support and the Bible class system, were the secret of the success of the Nevius method in Korea.¹¹

But Allen criticized Nevius for the purely financial self-support of his method. For his concept of self-support was an idealistic one which meant that from the beginning every local Church had to have all the powers of a Church, even including the power of administration of the Sacraments. Allen's argument was that the self-supporting principle of the Nevius method "sufficed for the maintenance of a group from the beginning but not for the establishment of a Church from the beginning".¹² For him, the

¹⁰ Davis, J. Merle, *The Economic and Social Environment of the Younger Churches*, The International Missionary Council, London, 1939, p.134: He seems to have simply quoted the summary of the Nevius method done by Herbert E. Blair, missionary in Korea, of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. When Davis introduced the Nevius method in the other article, he mentioned that it was a reproduction of the part of *Christian Stewardship in Korea* (Christian Literature Society of Korea, Seoul, 1938) by H.E. Blair. (The *Tambaran Report*, vol.5, *The Economic Basis of the Church*, International Missionary Council, Oxford, 1939: p.250)

¹¹ Allen, R., "The Nevius Method in Korea", *World Dominion*, July, 1931, pp.252-8 (here p.257)

¹² Allen R., "The Nevius Method in Korea", p.255f.: Allen distinguished a Christian group without the rites of the Church from the completely organized Church. In this category, he

concept of self-support must include a sense of self-government, and possibly of self-propagation, as he understood that self-support "involved a certain dignity and freedom".¹³ On this matter, he agreed with a criticism of the Nevius method by Calvin W. Mateer, of the American Presbyterian Mission in China since 1864, who was one of the colleagues of Nevius and had also worked in Shantung province for over forty years.¹⁴ But C.A. Clark dismissed Mateer's criticisms as simply "wholesale condemnation of the Nevius' Principles".¹⁵

In chapter three of *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, Clark tried to defend the Nevius method against Mateer's criticism in eight points. But from the beginning of his argument, he made a fatal mistake which led him to misunderstand the background of Mateer's study, as he mixed up C.W. Mateer (1836-1908)¹⁶ with his brother Robert M. Mateer, who was also a missionary in Shantung province since 1881, and who criticized the work of Nevius in relation to self-support in the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900. His remark was that "Nevius's work was a providence and not a method --- absolutely nothing to do with the method. ... there is not a self-supporting church in Dr. Nevius's

criticized that the word "Church" used by Nevius had no settled meaning. (p.254)

¹³ Allen R., "The Nevius Method in Korea", p.254.

¹⁴ For his criticism, see Mateer C.W., *A Review of Methods of Mission Work*, American Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai, 1900.

¹⁵ Clark C.A., *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, p.47.

¹⁶ For a recent study of his life, see Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung*, Harvard University Press, 1976, pp.139-237.

field to-day."¹⁷ His criticism, like C.W. Mateer's, seems to have been based on the fact that Nevius was not successful in his own work by his own method. It is interesting to see that, in the same Conference, a similar view was shared by Arthur H. Ewing, of the American Presbyterian Mission in India.¹⁸

While Mateer criticized the Nevius method from its unsuccessful result in Shantung, Clark defended it from his supposition that the growth of the Korean Church was the result of the Nevius method. Neither seemed to take an objective approach in their studies. If we suppose that the Nevius method did work in Korea, F.F. Ellinwood, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., well commented on criticisms of or debates on the Nevius method in the Ecumenical Missionary Conference:

I think there should be great discrimination observed in judging of this subject as it is presented in different fields. For example, the great success in Korea as compared with India and Syria is not wholly in method. Perhaps it is not mainly in method, but very largely in the fact that in Korea there is no great overshadowing religion as there is in Brahmanism. On the other hand, there is need of discrimination in judging on the other side. In Dr. Nevius's work there was the difficulty, first, of uprooting an old system. And that seems a matter of herculean difficulty. I think it would take a century to uproot the evil of the system of coddling which has been too much practiced in some old field; and it would not be fair to undertake to institute comparisons between them and such field as Korea.¹⁹

Ellinwood was right in a sense that there is no single

¹⁷ Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900, vol.2, p.311.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.307f.

¹⁹ Report of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference, vol.2, p.321.

universal method for any mission field. He might have judged rightly that, because Korea was an entirely new mission field, the Nevius method was able to produce great results. It will be discussed later, along with the nature of the Nevius method in detail, in order to establish whether or not it did really work in Korea. But here it will be useful to see how contemporary American missionaries in Korea interpreted the Nevius method.

First, to let each man "Abide in the calling wherein he was found," teaching that each was to be an individual worker for Christ, and to live Christ in his own neighborhood, supporting himself by his trade.

Secondly, to develop Church methods and machinery only so far as the native Church was able to take care of and manage the same.

Third, as far as the Church itself was able to provide the men and the means, to set aside those who seemed the better qualified, to do evangelistic work among their neighbors.

Fourth, to let the natives provide their own Church buildings, which were to be native in architecture, and of such style as the local church could afford to put up. ²⁰

Underwood said, after Nevius' visit to Korea in 1890, "after careful and prayerful consideration, we were led, in the main, to adopt this, and it has been the policy of the Mission".²¹ In his own words, Underwood seems to have insisted that this was the mission policy adopted by the Northern Presbyterian Mission in Korea in 1891, but it seems to be a modification or summary of the Nevius method. If we understand that the core of the Nevius method was Bible study, self-support, self-government, and self-propagation, it is clear that Underwood's principles did not adopt the main nature of the Nevius method. He seems to have only mentioned three points; self-support, self-government, and self-

²⁰ Underwood H.G., *The Call of Korea*, p.109f.

²¹ Underwood, H.G., *op.cit.*, p.109.

propagation. Furthermore, as both Allen and Clark insisted, if the Bible class system was the heart of the Nevius method and of the growth of the Korean Church, Underwood missed out this vital point in his principles. From this point, a question arises: How much did the Nevius method have its effect on the Korean Church?

(3) The Nevius method and the Korean Church

(A) Prior conditions of the adaptation of the Nevius method

According to the preface to the fourth edition of Nevius's *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches*, Bruce F. Hunt reported that Nevius received an invitation from a group of seven young missionaries who were just beginning their work in Korea, and that in June 1890 he visited Seoul for two weeks giving them his advice on mission methods. L.H. Underwood described the circumstances at that time:

We all recognized Dr. Nevius as a king among men, with a mind so clear and broad, a spirit so genial, a heart so full of charity and with a record of such long years of faithful labor that we were glad to sit at his feet. The sense of ignorance, incompetence, inexperience, combined with a realization of awful responsibility, is almost overwhelming to the young missionary on a new field, and it is only by constantly leaning on the almighty arm that he is kept from despondence and despair. At such times the advice of such an elder brother is invaluable.²²

²² Underwood L.H., *Fifteen years among the top-knots*, pp.97f.: She wrote that, when she visited kanggye in 1889, Underwood had already seriously considered adopting "ideas of rigid self-support" from the study of Nevius's book. (ibid., p.84) She also wrote;

We had a visit from Dr. and Mrs. Nevius of China. This old and experienced missionary from a field in many respects so like our own, was welcomed as from heaven. Mr. Underwood had repeatedly written, begging that some one of experience on

From this statement, the early missionaries in Korea seem to have had no confidence in their missionary work. Although Underwood was one of the most experienced missionaries in Korea, he also seems to have felt a sense of desperation. There might be many reasons for their desperation, which was the background of the speedy adaptation of the Nevius method.

Firstly, the American Mission Boards of both the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church sent to Korea young and inexperienced missionaries who had just graduated from their seminaries,²³ although Korea was *terra firma*²⁴ in terms of the missionary enterprise. It meant that the early missionaries had no senior missionary on the field to consult about various problems.

Secondly, they may have been impatient when they had few results to report to the Home Church. For instance, the North

the field might be sent to us; he felt so young and so at a loss facing the many problems which the work presented. Dr. Nevius was a wonderful help and explained to us all the self-support methods which he had used in China and which were afterward practically adopted by our mission with such amplifications and changes as circumstances seemed to require. (Underwood L.H., *Underwood of Korea*, p.99)

²³ Most the early missionaries arrived in Korea at their twenties. For instance, in 1884, H.N. Allen (1859-1932) was 25; in 1885, H.G. Underwood (1859-1916) 26, H.G. Appenzeller (1858-1902) 27, J.W. Heron (1856-1890) 29, and W.B. Scranton (1858-1922) 29; in 1888, J.S. Gale (1863-1937) 25; in 1890 S.A. Moffett (1864-1939) 26.

²⁴ Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1885, p.236; Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Korean Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1897, p.IV: In my discussion of the mission history of Korea, it was not *terra firma* because the Word of God had been already sown before the first missionary arrived.

Presbyterian Mission baptized 116 Koreans from 1886 to 1890.²⁵ Compared with the short history of their missionary work, begun at the end of 1884, these figures were not small at all. But American missionaries knew that most of them were actually converted not by missionaries themselves, but by Ross's men, or through individual reading of the Scriptures. Given that only educational and medical activities were permitted, the missionaries may have been seeking a means of engaging in direct evangelistic work. According to the statistics of the catechumens, the first catechist class was organized in 1891 with 15 members.²⁶ This indicates clearly that the missionaries found a way to engage in direct evangelistic work only after 1890.

Thirdly, the missionaries did not get on well with each other. Conflicts between Presbyterians and Methodists were not unusual in the nineteenth century.²⁷ But among the Northern

²⁵ The baptized numbers were 9 in 1886, 20 in 1887, 45 in 1888, 39 in 1889, and 3 in 1890. The total number of communicants was 9 in 1886, 25 in 1887, 65 in 1888, 104 in 1889, and 100 in 1900. (For complete statistics of the whole Presbyterian Church of Korea, see C.A. Clark, *The Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, pp.265-272) Although more than a half dozen converts baptized by Ross and MacIntyre were already in Korea before 1886, they seem to have been excluded from the statistics, because their contact with missionaries in Korea started at the end of 1886.

²⁶ In the sense that there was no formal class for catechumens before 1890, C.A. Clark insisted that this was one of fruits of the Nevius's visit. (*Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, p.86); *Report of the Quarter-Centennial Celebration of the Northern Presbyterian Mission*, 1909, p.24.

²⁷ H.N. Allen, a Presbyterian medical missionary, seems to have been unhappy to see the arrival of the Methodist missionaries, the Appenzellers and the Scrantons from the beginning. (Allen's Diary, 29th May 1885). The king's appointment of Scranton to the Government Hospital, which was opened by Allen, seems to have created discord between Allen and Scranton. (Diary on 28 June). For some more information on their relationship, see Allen's Diary on 12th May; 19th June; 21st June 1885. (cf. Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea*,

Presbyterian missionaries there were a couple of incidents that could have put the whole mission work in jeopardy. From the beginning of their work, H.G. Underwood, J.W. Heron, and H.N. Allen had certainly had an unharmonious relationship caused by the lack of self-endurance.²⁸

Finally, the lack of resources was, I believe, the most direct reason for the adaptation of the Nevius method. Underwood, Heron, and Scranton seem to have had financial difficulties, and requested in 1887 and 1888 that their salaries be raised, or that their debts be paid.²⁹ Although H.N. Allen advised the Mission Board that the missionary salary in Korea was "ample",³⁰ that does not mean that they lived in the lap of luxury. In an entirely new mission field such as Korea, it may have been usual for missionaries to overspend their salaries for various reasons - mainly starting new projects. In this sense, their financial difficulties indicate indirectly that the mission fund from the Home Churches would not be sufficient to operate their missionary

p.118)

²⁸ L.H. Underwood recorded some of the disagreements between the early missionaries, presumably between Allen and Heron. (Underwood of Korea, pp.42-44) Personal discord between Allen and Heron resulted in the resignation of Allen in 1887 (see Paik, op.cit., p.119: Allen's Diary on 1st September 1885; 5th September 1886; 10th October 1886). In the same year he became Secretary of the Korean legation at Washington, and in 1890 Secretary of the American legation at Seoul: In September 1886, H.G. Underwood and Heron also tendered their resignation to the Board in connection with the personal discord with Allen. (H.G. Underwood's letter to F.F. Ellinwood on 27th January 1887): In 1889 Underwood and Heron also seem to have been estranged from each other. (Heron's letter to Ellinwood on 11th July 1889).

²⁹ Copy of Appenzeller's letter to his Board in his diary, 12th August 1887: M. Huntley, To Start A Work, p.129.

³⁰ Huntley M., op.cit., p.129.

projects at that time. This financial problem may have been closely connected with the shortage of missionaries. In the last chapter, we have seen the development of some Christian communities in Korea even before 1890. For a handful of missionaries,³¹ the various Christian communities in out-stations would have ironically been a heavy burden as well as a hopeful prospect for their mission. It is certain that their resources were not sufficient to meet the demand of the Korean Christian communities.

(B) Influence of the Nevius method on the Mission Policies in Korea

Under the above circumstances, it is not surprising that the Presbyterian missionaries were seeking help from an experienced missionary such as Nevius. Nevius's two weeks of teaching in mission method must have heavily influenced them. S.A. Moffett witnessed the meeting with Nevius;

From his rich twenty-five years of experience, he talked to us young men, and planted in our hearts the seed thoughts of main principles. From him came the two great principles in our work - the Bible Class system and self-support.... From these talks and from his book on Methods of Mission Work, the Korean Mission derived inestimable benefit - although, in the development of these ideas, local conditions and our experience in adopting the methods to meet different circumstances

³¹ The North Presbyterian Mission in Korea had eight missionaries including two female missionaries in 1890. At this time, all of them were located in Seoul. The Methodist Episcopal Mission had eleven missionaries. But, as their mission was focused on the educational and medical mission, and did not adopt the Nevius method as their mission policy, the early history of the Methodist Mission can be excluded from our discussion. (In 1890, the Methodists had only nine members.)

have led to great modifications.³²

From this statement, it is clear that the missionaries did not adopt the Nevius method in a wholesale way, but modified it greatly to meet Korean circumstances. Underwood also expressed the same view in relation to the Nevius Method.

The system as now followed by our mission is not exactly what was originally known as the Nevius system, but has grown out of the needs of the work, and has been developed with it, and is on the whole more thorough than the system of Dr. Nevius's "Methods of Work".³³

At this point, contrary to the general view, we would claim that the early Protestant Church in Korea, particularly the Presbyterian Church, had not grown by the Nevius method. But the question still remains; "how much influence upon the Korean Church did the Nevius method have?"

After Nevius's visit, the Northern Presbyterian Mission Rules and By-Laws in seven sections with 60 articles was adopted at the annual meeting of the Northern Presbyterian Mission in Korea, from 3rd to 7th February 1891.³⁴ The key point of these rules was self-support, which was emphasized in almost every section. But unlike the Nevius method, the elements of self-government and self-propagation were not stressed. For instance, although these three elements had to be mentioned in section B of Native Agents, the first nine articles of this section only

³² Report of the Quarter-Centennial Celebration of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, 1909, p.18: Quoted from C.A. Clark, Korean Church and Nevius Methods, p.73f.

³³ Underwood H.G., "Principles of self-support in Korea", KMF, June, 1908, p.91.

³⁴ For the Rules and By-Laws, see Appendix II.

provided definitions of agents, such as leader, elder, deacon, helper, bible woman, licentiate, evangelist, and pastor. Articles from X to XV seem to have been borrowed from the Nevius method. But the articles seem to have rigidly modified the Nevius method, since they look like a set of prohibitions.

(X) All of the native agents of the Mission with the work that they are doing shall, as far as practicable, be brought by name before the Mission at its Annual Meeting, and assigned for oversight to the various members of the Mission.

(XI) No member of the Mission shall employ any native agent, for the Mission or Station, without asking its approval, except temporarily in special cases.

(XII) Those native agents employed as preachers to the heathen at large shall not spend their time in the neighbourhoods where there are sub-stations.

(XIII) No one shall be hired to do occasional evangelistic work in his own neighbourhood.

(XIV) It shall be definitely understood that the salaries of native agents are not salaries in the sense of payments for the work done, but rather a providing them with means of support so that they may be able to give their full time to the work to which they believe they have been called.

(XV) These salaries of native agents, while varying somewhat, of course, according to the location and work, shall as nearly as possible conform to a schedule prepared by the Mission at its annual Meeting.

From the above rules, the emphasis on self-government and self-propagation can hardly be seen, but only the materialistic idea of self-support seems to have been emphasized here. As all the early missionaries of the Northern Presbyterian Mission confessed that these rules were based on the Nevius method, there is no doubt that Nevius had a great personal influence upon them. All new missionaries of that Mission seem to have been given a copy of Nevius's book on their arrival and urged to pass an examination on it.³⁵ From the commencement of the Korean

³⁵ Preface to the fourth edition of PDMC by B.F. Hunt: Hunt refers to the Korea Mission, but it seems to be the Presbyterian Missions, more exclusively the Northern Presbyterian Mission;

mission of the Presbyterian Church, Nevius became a father-figure of the early missionaries.³⁶

C.A. Clark wrote, "It is easy to see the influence of the Nevius Principles in almost every section of them [Rules and By-Laws], in some cases there being actual quotations directly from his book of Methods".³⁷ But it is obvious that he over-emphasized the influence of the Nevius method, because such cases are nowhere to be found. Even though Clark gave a comprehensive summary of the Nevius method,³⁸ he made a critical mistake, as he was using his own summaries as direct quotations of the Nevius method. Here are some examples:³⁹

[Nevius 1] Making paid agents of new converts affects injuriously the stations with which they are connected.... Envy, jealousy and dissatisfaction with their lot are very apt to be excited in the minds of those who are left. (pp.12f.)

[Clark 1] "It is always harms the local church whence the worker is chosen, first in that it takes away its natural reader or puts him in such a different relation that the old beautiful relation is shattered. Secondly, it stirs envy, jealousy and dissatisfaction. Others feel that they, too, should be employed as servants, or in some capacity, if not as preachers." (p.12)

[Nevius 2] Making a paid agent of a new convert often proves an injury to him personally. He is placed in a position unfavorable to the development of a strong, healthy, Christian character. (p.13)

[Clark 2] "It always harms the new convert who receives the

C.A. Clark said that he also received a copy when he went to Korea 1902. (Korean Church and Nevius Methods, p.74)

³⁶ Underwood described him as a "king" or "angel". (see p.295, and note 22)

³⁷ Clark C.A., op.cit., p.75.

³⁸ See pp.5f.

³⁹ In his book, Korean Church and Nevius Methods, Clark indicated that he used the 1899 edition of The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches.(p.16) The pages which Clark put at the end of each sections are from that edition.

salary. His point of view changes, and the salary bulks larger often to him than his Gospel.... As a laymen preaching to his neighbours, there is never any such difficulty." (p.13)

[Nevius 3] The Old System makes it difficult to judge between the true and false, whether as preachers or as church members.... How many others there are now in employ whose professions are suspended on their pay no one can tell.... Doubtless the man employed is often self-deceived. (p.14)

[Clark 3] "This system makes it impossible to judge between the true and the false believers. When only spiritual and moral benefits can be anticipated by the believers, the tests of faith to be applied are relatively simple. When the financial gain element is added, no one can make distinctions." (p.14)

[Nevius 4] The Employment System tends to excite a mercenary spirit, and to increase the number of mercenary Christians. (p.15)

[Clark 4] "This system stirs the mercenary interest in all of the believers and tends to destroy the spiritual one." (p.15)

[Nevius 5] The Employment System tends to stop the voluntary work of unpaid agents. (p.16)

[Clark 5] "It stops voluntary, unpaid efforts and so puts off the results for which the whole system is founded." (p.16)

[Nevius 6] The Old System tends to lower the character and lessen the influence of the missionary enterprise, both in the eyes of foreigners and natives.... We must also admit the fact, that not a few of those who have found their way into the Church have proved, after years of trial, to be only "Rice Christians". (pp.16f.)

[Clark 6] "It lowers the whole Mission enterprise in the eyes of the Christians themselves, and of all the non-Christian community. Not knowing spiritual things, they take it for granted that the average Christian is in it, as they would be, for financial advantage, actual or possible, and exhortations to them to believe are considered to be efforts to gather in members for the financial advantage of the exhorter.... All hope of spiritual and moral impacts go glimmering." (p.16) ⁴⁰

As Clark used quotation marks for all the above sections, he

⁴⁰ These six points were the major presuppositions of the Nevius method, as Nevius set up his mission principles on the basis of strong objections to the Old Method, which he referred to the employment system by the use of foreign funds in the first stage of evangelistic work. (cf. Nevius, PDMC, chapter 1: "The Old System Criticized", pp.7-18)

clearly indicated that they were not a summary of the Nevius book. But there is no doubt that he did not quote, but summarized them from Nevius's book. As he repeated the same mistakes throughout his book, Clark seems to have misled readers who were studying the history of the Korean Protestant Church in relation to the Nevius method. This may have been caused by his conscious attempt to prove how the Nevius method had actually influenced the Korean Church.

Nevertheless, it is strange that the Rules of 1891 seem not to have emphasised the Bible Class, which was one of the most important elements of the Nevius method. Although the Rules have Section D for "Theological Instruction" with 7 articles,⁴¹ this seems not to have been for all Christians but for the members selected by the Mission. The main purpose of the Bible Class was to prepare leaders for self-propagation and self-support. This was clearly shown in articles III and V:

III. The object of the Classes shall be to fit the various agents for their work, and especially to prepare natives to become self-supporting teachers of others without removing them from their various callings.

V. Except in special circumstances, only those who are invited by a member of the Mission shall be allowed to attend the Classes.

The rest of Section D refers only to how to operate the Class in relation to its duration and expense. These seem to have summarized Nevius's ideas on Bible Classes.⁴² The general study

⁴¹ In section A, IV. 3, there is a general statement on the Bible Class. It reads, "To work out a course of Scripture instruction for each sub-station in accordance with the general plan approved by the Mission".

⁴² The rest of Rules looks very similar to the Nevius' idea of "Bible or Training Classes". (PDMC, pp.39-41)

of the Scriptures by all church members and inquirers was the centre of the Nevius method,⁴³ but this key idea seems to have been overlooked in the Rules of 1891. For instance, after the first catechism class of the Northern Presbyterian Mission was organized with 15 members in 1891, this class was not held for two years until it restarted with 40 members in 1893. This indicates that the Bible class system was emphasized less at that time than the system of self-support and self-propagation. This may be because there were no official Korean Scriptures to use in the Bible class, except the Ross Version which the early missionaries themselves did not want to use. This may have been reflected in Mission Policies adopted by the Council of Missions in 1893.

Immediately after the Australian Presbyterian Church established its mission in Korea in 1889, "the United Council of the Mission of the American and Victorian Churches" was organized with the Northern Presbyterian Mission, but was dispersed in 1890 because of the death of J.H. Davies, the only delegate of the Australian Church at that time. After the Southern Presbyterian Church arrived in Korea in 1892, these three Presbyterian Churches organized "the Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government"⁴⁴ on 28th January 1893.

⁴³ Nevius PDMC, pp. 10, 33, 38f.: In practice, Nevius suggested six stages of Bible study; (1) learning to read, (2) memorizing Scripture, (3) reading Scripture in course, (4) telling Scripture stories, (5) learning the meaning of Scripture, and (6) reviews of former exercises. (p.39)

⁴⁴ Hereafter it will be abbreviated as "Council of Missions": The Canadian Presbyterian Mission began with the Revs. W.R. Foote, D. McRae, and Dr. R. Grierson in September 1898, and also joined the Council from the beginning of their work.

Although it had advisory power only, at its first meeting, the Council of Missions adopted important mission policies as the principles of the Protestant missions in Korea. They are:

- (1) It is better to aim at the conversion of the working classes than that of the higher classes.
- (2) The conversion of women and the training of Christian girls should be an especial aim, since mothers exercise so important an influence over future generations.
- (3) Much could be effected in Christian education by maintaining elementary schools in country towns; therefore we should aim to qualify young men in our boy's school and to send them out as teachers.
- (4) Our hope for an educated native ministry lies in the same quarter, and should be constantly held in view.
- (5) The Word of God converts where man is without resources; therefore it is most important that we make every effort to place a clear translation of the Bible before the people as soon as possible.
- (6) In all literary work, a pure Korean, free from Sinicism, should be our aim.
- (7) An aggressive church must be a self-supporting church, and we must aim to diminish the proportion of dependents among our membership and to increase that of self-supporting, and therefore contributing individuals.
- (8) The mass of Koreans must be led to Christ by their own fellow-countrymen; therefore we shall thoroughly train a few as evangelists rather than preach to multitude ourselves.
- (9) The services of our physicians can be turned to best account when it is possible to keep the same patient long under treatment either in a hospital ward or in the patient's home, thus giving opportunity for instruction and example to sink deeply into mind. Dispensary work is of comparatively little profit.
- (10) Patients from the country who have undergone a season of treatment ought to be followed up by visitation in their native villages, since their experience of compassionate dealing is likely to open a wide door for the evangelist. ⁴⁵

These are important policies not only because all the Presbyterian Churches in Korea were involved in its adoption, but

⁴⁵ Vinton C.C., "Presbyterian Mission in Korea", *The Missionary Review of the World*, September, 1893, p.671: The Methodist Missions did not join the Council, but they had similar mission policies. In this sense, this was a kind of Protestant principle of mission in Korea.

also each of the articles were important factors of the church growth in Korea. But a question arises for our discussion: "Has the Nevius method influenced these policies?" The answer is "yes" and "no". Yes! because the Northern Presbyterian Mission, as the biggest body among three missions, seems to have played a leading part in the Council of Missions. No! because these policies are more comprehensive than either the Nevius method or the Rules of 1891. For instance, only articles 7 and 8 refer to the ideas of self-support and self-propagation, which resemble those of Nevius and the Rules of 1891. It may be unfair to compare these policies with the Nevius method and the Rules of 1891, because the former were only general principles of mission, and the rest were actual methods of mission. But I am simply trying to find the interrelation between these.

Although Nevius seems to have acknowledged the great importance of educational and medical work,⁴⁶ he hardly mentioned these in his *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches*. It means that Nevius referred only to evangelistic work for the planting of churches. Therefore, the articles concerning education (3 and 4) and medical work (9 and 10) had nothing to do with the Nevius method.⁴⁷ At the time of Nevius, China was not a new mission field, a number of Bible translations in Chinese had already been completed, and various Christian tracts were already published. Thus Nevius may not have felt it necessary to emphasize the importance of Bibles and tracts in the vernacular

⁴⁶ For his opinion about education, see Nevius, *China and Chinese*, p.359; about medical work, *ibid.*, p.356.

⁴⁷ For this reason, section C (education) of the Rules of 1891 seems to have not been influenced by Nevius.

language. For this reason, it is also impossible to see Nevius's influence on articles 5 and 6 concerning the Bible translation and literary work in the vernacular language.⁴⁸ Although here is no need to stress the importance of vernacular language, it is surprising to see that this significant element was disregarded in the Rules of 1891. Furthermore, articles 1 and 2 were new ideas which neither the Nevius method nor the Rules of 1891 mentioned at all. But these were very important statements, as the working classes and women at that time constituted the majority of Korean people. It means that all missions gave a priority to evangelizing commoners. Since Korean women traditionally played the most significant role in religious activities, the concentration on women and girls at the beginning of missionary work was one of the most important strategies of mission.

It is now obvious that the mission policies of 1893 owed very little, or possibly nothing, to the Nevius method. But this does not mean that the Presbyterian missionaries as individuals had not been inspired by the Nevius method. In fact, the Northern Presbyterian Mission kept their Rules of 1891 along with the Mission Principles of 1893. On their side, it may not have mattered whether articles of the principles of 1893 contained ideas of Nevius, because they had a set of rules which they claimed to be influenced by Nevius.

⁴⁸ Article 5 shows indirectly a reason why, without the Bible, the Bible class was not able to be properly operated at that time.

(C) Application of the Nevius method in Korea

The Northern Presbyterian mission seems to have had other principles for their own mission. H.G. Underwood wrote an article "An object-lesson in self-support" in The Missionary Review of the World in 1900. In this article, he gave eight principles of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, which can be summarized as follows:

- (1) Do not foist a completely organized church upon the native infant church.
- (2) Plan the church architecture in accordance with the ability of the natives to build, and the style of houses generally used.
- (3) Place the responsibility of giving the Gospel to the heathen upon the Christians; our aim is that every Christian shall become an active worker.
- (4) It is the mission policy that wherever congregations warrant it there shall be church schools supported by the church, and under the supervision of the missionary in charge, or the stewards, deacons, or elders, as the case may be.
- (5) It is the aim of the mission to provide high schools or academies at its larger stations.
- (6) Develop church leaders by means of summer and winter training and Bible classes.
- (7) Urge the natives to pay for the cost of books and publications.
- (8) Let the native pay for all the medical expenses. ⁴⁹

These seem not to have been officially documented by his mission. But it is obvious that these principles were widely applied in the Korean mission field. Underwood's comment on these principles proves that all the Presbyterian Missions adopted them as general principles of their mission:

After fifteen years of work in Korea, the Presbyterian churches who have followed this system are able to

⁴⁹ These has been summarized from H.G. Underwood's "An object-lesson in self-support" (MRW, June, 1900, pp.447-9). An almost identical article by him appeared in The Korea Mission Field in 1908 ("Principles of Self-support in Korea", June, 1908, pp.91-4).

report one hundred and eighty-six [in fact 286] out of one hundred and eighty-eight [in fact 288] self-supporting native churches with a baptized membership of over three thousand, contributing during the year nearly seven thousand yen, and almost entirely supporting and carrying on their own work. ⁵⁰

Whether or not the above principles were officially adopted by all the Presbyterian Missions, Underwood insisted that all of them who followed his principles achieved as great a success as Underwood showed. But it has to be questioned why and how the Northern Presbyterian Mission alone was able to establish 253 out of 288 congregations by 1900. If the other Missions followed the same principles, why did they not achieve the same degree of success? It requires a thorough examination of various fields in Korea.⁵¹ Through a comparative and thorough study of church growth in Korea, Shearer suggested that the Nevius method was not a major factor for church growth at the formative period of the Protestant Church in Korea. His point of view on the Nevius method will be noted later. For the purpose of this section, it is necessary to examine each of the principles stated by Underwood in relation to the practice of the Nevius method in Korea.

⁵⁰ Underwood H.G., "An object-lesson in self-support", p.449: His statistics should be 286 out of 288, because it was reported that his mission alone had 253 congregations in 1900. Only two of them were completely organized churches. These statistics also indicate that the other three Presbyterian Missions (Southern Presbyterian of the U.S.A, Australian Presbyterian, and Canadian Presbyterian) shared only 35 congregations.

⁵¹ For this matter, see Roy E. Shearer, *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1966: Kenneth S. Latourette wrote in the foreword of this book that this is "one of the most thoughtful and dependable studies of church growth in recent years" of Korea. (p.7)

(a) The principle of self-government

The first and sixth principles are related to the idea of self-government in the Nevius method. The first principle, to establish an unorganized church without professional pastors or elders at the early stage of the missionary work, seems to have been recommended by Nevius. Nevius believed that "elders should not be appointed unless their qualifications conformed in some good degree to those required in Scripture",⁵² and unless "the people want them and can support them".⁵³ Although the basic idea of Nevius was to encourage the voluntary activities of church members in doing so, it was because Nevius had a great fear of the disadvantageous element of the employment of paid agents. This idea seems to have been literally interpreted and rigidly applied in Korea. This is proved from the fact that there were only two organized congregations out of 253 churches of the Northern Presbyterian Mission by 1900. But there were other reasons for these circumstances.

The first reason was the rapid growth of the church.⁵⁴ According to statistics, the rate of growth until 1895 was not

⁵² Nevius, PDMC, pp.60f.

⁵³ PDMC, p.64.

⁵⁴ The total number of communicants and churches of the whole Presbyterian Church of Korea from 1886 to 1906 were;

	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896
com.	9	25	65	104	100	119	127	241	236	286	530
chu.	1	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	7	13	26

	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
com.	932	2099	2839	3710	5118	5796	7107	8766	11061	14353
chu.	73	205	261	287	326	369	427	462	540	843

high, but between 1895 and 1900, the number of communicants doubled. Such a rapid growth must have produced a number of unorganized congregations. Furthermore, as most of the Christian communities at that time were autogenously formed regardless of the intention of missionaries, the unorganized form of congregation may have been inevitable.

Secondly, this was directly related to the sixth point, the training class for leaders. In spite of the rapid growth of the church, the missionaries seem to have had difficulties in selecting and training leaders, because of the lack of missionary forces to cover the whole of Korea. Although the Northern Presbyterian Mission had already put a section on "theological instruction" in their Rules of 1891, official theological training was only begun in 1901.⁵⁵ Since the number of congregations exceeded 200 in 1898, the missionaries may have realized for the first time that the establishment of a formal training class was the most urgent task to be solved. Underwood wrote that the training class for leaders was "the most serious problem and the one as yet unsolved".⁵⁶ This indicates clearly that the missionaries could not provide leaders to cope with the rapid increase of congregations.

Finally, however, the principle of unorganized

⁵⁵ Rhodes H.A., "Presbyterian Theological Seminary", KMF, June, 1910, p.129: But H.H. Underwood, son of H.G. Underwood, dated it as 1902. (Underwood, H.H., *Modern Education in Korea*, International Press, New York, 1926, p.145)

⁵⁶ Underwood H.G., "An object-lesson in self-support", p.448: The lack of training class for leaders seems to have been a problem even after 1902, as Underwood said the same thing in 1908. (Underwood H.G., "Principles of Self-support in Korea", KMF, June 1908, p.94)

congregations may have been a good excuse to justify their lack of a training system. Underwood shows his double standards on this matter. He said, "We see no reason to believe that in the early church there was a regular stated pastorate, and we are not yet urging this upon the Koreans".⁵⁷ He was right to say that the early church had no one specific form of congregation. But the question is whether his reason for the unorganized congregation was really based on such Biblical interpretation. In reality, whether a missionary likes it or not, a missionary church has to have a certain form. From this perspective, if the missionaries did not want to have Korean leaders fully trained in spite of their sense of urgency in training leaders, their standard on this matter must be questioned. In World Missionary Conference in 1910, T.H. Yun already pointed out the danger of the lack of trained leaders in Korea, and pleaded for an adequate number of missionaries to train Koreans. The main point of his speech was:

The rapid conversion of the people was another danger. If they had a sufficient number of missionaries to take hold of the situation the rapid increase of the converts would not mean so much danger, but when they had so few missionaries and so few trained native missionaries, there was a danger that the converts might not be taught so thoroughly as was necessary in order to lay wide and deep the foundation of the Church of the future. ⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Underwood H.G., "An object-lesson in self-support", p.448

⁵⁸ Report of Commission I: Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World, World Missionary Conference 1910, Edinburgh, p.411: This is a part of his speech summarized in the report. (pp.410f.) A similar criticism was already made by Arthur J. Brown, who visited Korea in 1901:

The only reason they assigned to me for deferring church organization, after a sufficient number of believers have been baptized, was the lack of duly qualified men for church officers. I have stated the dangers involved, not so much because I think that the Mission is blindly running into them, as because they are perils which clearly shadow the

The idea of unorganized congregations appeared to have been successful in planting churches, according to the statistics of the number of congregations. But if its purpose was to stimulate the self-government of each congregation, it would be easy to say that Nevius's idea of the unorganized congregation failed to lay the basic foundation for the self-government of the Korean Church at the beginning of missionary work, as this principle caused the standard of the Korean leaders to be minimized, allowed missionaries to dominate the whole of the Korean Church. Their determination to control the whole church is clearly shown in the principles for the training of the Korean ministry, set up in 1896 by W.D. Reynolds of the Southern Presbyterian Mission of the U.S.A.:

Negative Principles

- (1) Don't let him know for a long time that you have an idea of training him for the ministry.
- (2) Don't employ him as a preacher or evangelist on foreign pay if you can help it.
- (3) Don't send him to America to be educated, at any rate in the early stage of mission work. Don't train him in any way that tends to lift him far above the level of the people among whom he is to live and labor.

Positive Principles

- (1) Seek to fit him to a high plane of spiritual experience. Let him strive above all else to be a "Holy Ghost Man".
- (2) Ground him thoroughly in the Word and in the cardinal facts and truths of Christianity.
- (3) Train the young pastor-to-be to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ".
- (4) As Korean Christians advance in culture and modern civilization, raise the standard of education of the native ministry. Seek to keep his education of his

present policy, and which should be kept in mind as sure to bring trouble if that policy is pursued any longer than absolutely necessary.... But just at this point the question arises: What is meant by "suitability"?

(Brown A.J., Visitation of the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, pamphlet, New York, 1902, p.15)

people to secure respect and prestige, but not enough ahead to excite envy or a feeling of separation. ⁵⁹

Reynolds insisted that he set up these principles on the basis of the Nevius method. Perhaps all the positive principles, and the second negative principle, may have been rephrased from the Nevius method. But it is hard to see that the first and third of the negative principles were modified from the Nevius method. In fact, these two principles have been criticized by many scholars. Sung C. Chun saw that these principles had been in practice for years especially in the Presbyterian missions, and described their negative results in the Korean Church:

The "puppet" candidates were not even allowed to interpret the Bible in their own way. This was done for them by the "pope" in charge, and woe be unto those unfortunate students who defined the "Verbal Inspiration" or "the Virgin Birth". ⁶⁰

Nevius emphasized the idea of self-government as one of his major mission methods. But the above principles seem not to have stimulated the sense of self-government. One may argue that these principles had been in practice only in the Southern Presbyterian Mission. But, as Reynolds was one of the important lecturers in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary for many years, his understanding of the Nevius method must have been affected the development of the Korean Church. When H.G. Underwood explained the purpose of a theological training class, he showed that the Northern Presbyterian Mission determined to make parrot-like

⁵⁹ Reynolds W.D., "The Native Ministry", The Korean Repository, May, 1896, pp.200f.: The complete form of principles can be also found in Sung C. Chun's Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea. (The Christian Literature Society of Korea, Seoul, 1979, pp.79f.: This was his doctoral dissertation at Yale University in 1955.)

⁶⁰ Chun S.C., op.cit., pp.81f.

Korean leaders:

At the present time it is our aim to take the picked leaders, and by means of this summer and winter training and Bible classes [of 1900], supplemented by the practical training that we can give them by associating them with us in our work, and having them accompany us in our itinerating evangelistic tours and assist us in the organization of churches, to train up a class of thoroughly equipped leaders, well grounded in the faith, who know their Bible and are able to give a reason for the faith that is in them. ⁶¹

When Nevius advocated the principle of self-government, the absolute voluntary movement by Koreans was the key point. But this statement shows that there is no sense of encouraging the voluntary movement by Koreans from the beginning of the selection of leaders. If we accept that these principles of self-government were entirely different from those of the Nevius method, the Nevius method for self-government had nothing to do with the development of the Korean Church. The Nevius method failed to establish the basic ground for the self-government of the Korean Church.

(b) The principle of self-support

The second principle about the Church buildings, which does not appear important for self-support, nevertheless seems to have been set up as one of the major planks of self-support. As Nevius did not mention the importance of church building in his method, this principle seems to have been laid down by the missionaries in Korea. The rapid growth of congregations everywhere must have necessitated a large number of church

⁶¹ Underwood, H.G., "An object-lesson in self-support", p.449

buildings, which the missionaries were not able to provide. Here is a typical example:

In 1896, Pyongyang Station reported twenty-two congregations in its territory of the northwest. One year later the Gospel had been preached in all but one of the fifty-four counties in its territory, and there were fifty-three groups meeting regularly for worship. Twenty-five of these fifty-three groups had church buildings used only for religious purposes. By the next year there were 126 congregations with sixty-nine church buildings in northwest Korea. During that one year, forty-four new church buildings had been erected. ⁶²

Shearer went on, "in the face of growth like this, self-support was both natural and inevitable". Although he did not deny the claims of the Presbyterian missionaries that the principle of self-support caused the great growth, he rather insisted that the great growth of the church "not only made possible but even demanded rigorous self-support".⁶³ Such a conclusion came out from the fact that this principle was successful only in northwest Korea. There are many reasons for church growth in the northwest, but one of the important reasons for success in the northwest was the foundation laid by Ross's men. Shearer understood that such a foundation was closely related to the success of the principle of self-support. He testified:

The growth of churches in and around the northern stations came before the missionaries were really settled and before any institutions had been established. This was true even of the first station, Pyongyang. Great and early growth determined the policies of Pyongyang Station missionaries, and these methods were such as to favor continued, rapid growth. For instance, "self-support" is more readily achieved in a greatly growing Church: it becomes an easier and,

⁶² Shearer R.E., *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, pp.121f.

⁶³ Shearer, *op.cit.*, p.122.

indeed, the only feasible method to follow. Self-support can be defined as the encouragement of a young Church to support its own organization wherever possible.⁶⁴

From this statement, we can easily define that a certain precondition had greatly affected the success of the self-supporting principle, in a broad sense, church growth. Through comparative studies of church growth between denominations and regions,⁶⁵ Shearer concluded that the Nevius method, especially self-supporting principle, "had different effects on different areas of the Church", and that, "in some areas, this method assisted growth; in others, growth was hindered".⁶⁶ His assumption in this study was that all the Presbyterian Missions adopted the Nevius method as their mission principle. Further study of this matter may be needed. But in the cases of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, Shearer's criticism of the Nevius method was quite right. That Mission applied rigidly their mission principles inflexibly to all their mission field, and this rigid application of a single blanket principle produced quite different rates of growth in various regions.⁶⁷ A similar criticism was made by S.C. Chun, who understood that the Nevius method was not the main cause of the growth of the Korean Church, but rather hindered its development, because he understood that the Nevius's idea of self-support of was "the maintenance of the

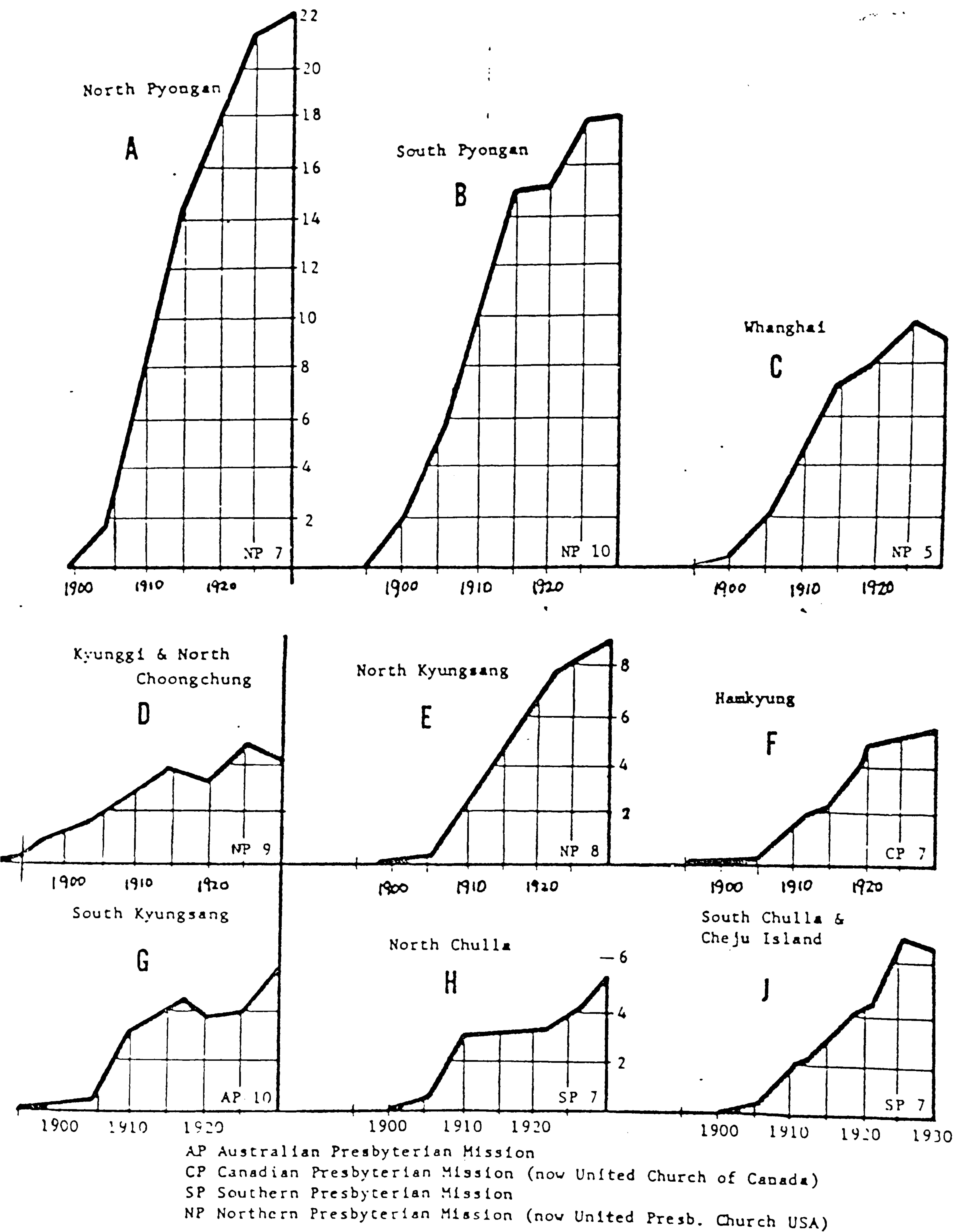
⁶⁴ Shearer, *op.cit.*, p.121.

⁶⁵ Shearer insisted that socio-political and cultural differences between various regions produced different results in the growth of the church.

⁶⁶ Shearer, *op.cit.*, p.216.

⁶⁷ See figure in next page, taken from Shearer (*op.cit.*, pp.82-3).

FIGURE 5
 COMMUNICANT MEMBERSHIP OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KOREA BY PROVINCE, 1885-1930



church at a given level without much possibility of improvement". As he saw it, self-support was the basic objective of the Nevius method, Chun seems to have narrowed the Nevius method of how to plant and develop the missionary churches. However, it is interesting to see that the reasons he gives for that method's failure to achieve the basic objective:

First, without specific helps toward self-support, the Nevius Plan assumed that the churches in Korea would naturally become self-supporting. However, particularly in South Korea, the poor tenants had little opportunity to develop the prerequisite self-support. This meant that the program of the missionary effort was hampered by the Nevius Plan. The majority of the population in Korea is composed of poor farmers who desperately needed guidance prior to attaining any degree of self-support. ⁸⁸

Here Chun spoke of the poor tenants in the south. But this did not mean that the people in the north were rich enough to support themselves. Although the second article (see p.382) mentioned the ability of Koreans to build their own churches, there seems to have been no consideration of such abilities in the practice of the Northern Presbyterian Mission. According to

⁸⁸ Chun S.C., op.cit., p.95: He gave more reasons;

Second, the advocates of the Nevius Plan failed to recognize the value of the culture maintained by the Yangban class. By ignoring this cultural stratum, the planners brought upon themselves hostility from the Yangban class concerning Christianity. Individual dignity tended to be overlooked in the Plan. In addition, hostility was generated among missionaries toward the Yangban class because of their misunderstanding of the cultural heritage of the class.

Third, the Nevius Plan resulted in an imbalance of the Christian population. One small area, the Northwest, obtained two-third of the total Protestant church constituency. The exclusive concentration in this one area of the country accentuated the spirit of conflict between the Protestants in the Northwest and those in the rest of the land.

Fourth, the Nevius Plan favored isolationism. Information concerning social and theological developments from abroad was curtailed because few students were sent overseas for further education. (pp.95f.)

S.A. Moffett, self-support of the church depended almost entirely upon the individual missionary, who was "filled with the conviction" that the self-support principle was the best method.

He gave an example:

I was asked to establish schools in Pyong Yang. I said, yes, if the native church would agree to undertake the partial support of such schools. At first they thought themselves unable to do anything. I insisted, and refused to start the school. Before the year was over the native church had provided half the support of two schools. In the case of church building I have pursued the same policy. And within two years we have built in our station 11 native churches, none of which, however, has cost more than \$50, running from \$15 to \$50. But the natives have supplied them almost entirely, and the buildings correspond with their environment. ⁶⁹

From the above statement, Moffett seems to have demanded that Korean Christians support themselves regardless of their financial ability. As all the Missions aimed at the conversion of the working classes and women, and as the majority of Koreans at that time were poor farmers, it is needless to say that the financial ability of the Christians in the northwest must not have been high. Nevertheless, use of the missionaries were able to be successful in their self-supporting principle because Koreans responded heartily to the request of the missionaries.

⁶⁹ Report of the Conference of the Foreign Missions Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada for 1897, Foreign Missions Library, New York, pp.38f. He reported that the wages of labourers were 10 cents per day, that carpenter received about 15 cents, and that the living cost of a family was \$2 per month. Having compared these figures, the construction costs of churches seem not to have been great. Because along with volunteer labours, most of the materials may have been donated. And it is believed that the Korean style of churches was recommended as one of self-supporting principles because of cheap construction costs. For these reasons, the ability of Koreans and the Korean style of churches might be "a very important feature in the successful carrying out of this plan of self-support. (Underwood, H.G., "An object-lesson in self-support, p.447)

We have already seen accounts of the erection of Sorae and Saemunan churches in the chapter five. Both cases were not exceptions in being self-supporting congregations. Underwood's report illustrated the strong will of Koreans:

Our deacon, Yi Chun Ho, startled the Koreans, as well as the missionary, by suggestion that the natives should put up the new church without foreign aid. I at once said: "You have raised twenty yen, and believed that you had done all you could; it will take thousand yen to put up the church. Can you do it?" I felt strongly rebuked by his quiet reply: "We ask such questions as 'can you do it' about men's work, but not about God's work." ⁷⁰

Without such beliefs and determination by Koreans, the self-supporting principle would not be to succeed anywhere. Underwood went on, this example had been followed "all over the land wherever Presbyterian work is starting, and it is not an uncommon experience, ... for the missionary, on his visiting a station, to find that the natives have ready a church or chapel for him to dedicate".⁷¹ The erection of a church building might not necessarily be the most important aspect of self-support. The most important characteristic will be, not the material ability, but the spiritual ability of the Koreans to build churches by themselves. According to Underwood's testimony, it is obvious that the spiritual ability of the Koreans made the self-supporting principle possible, and that that ability was not created by the missionaries. In other words, self-supporting characteristics were not introduced by the American missionaries, but had been already in existence before they demanded that the

⁷⁰ Underwood, H.G., "An object-lesson in self-support", p.446.

⁷¹ Underwood, op.cit., p.447.

Koreans adopt this principle as a Christian duty.

(c) The principle of self-propagation

The self-propagating principle was expressed by a motto, "every Christian shall become an active worker" in the third article. When Nevius emphasized the self-propagating principle, he gave a Biblical background; the members of the early Church were all witness-bearers. From this, Nevius insisted that Church members must be taught to be the witness-bearers. He was quite right to see that without such an agency as the missionaries' main support, there would be "little reason to expect the Gospel to prevail in China".⁷² His main idea was from 1 Cor. 7:20; "Let each man abide in that calling wherein he was called". It was to secure and train a better and unpaid agent, who knew his village and had much more influence upon his friends than anyone else.

There is no doubt that this idea was adopted by the American Presbyterian missionaries in Korea. But, in practice, it was rigidly modified and applied in Korea as follows:

We refuse to receive into church membership a man and woman who tells us that he has never tried to lead others to Christ. As a result, from a number of congregations the most intelligent Christians will be sent out to other places; in some cases the expenses are paid by the natives, in some cases they pay their

⁷² Nevius, PDMC, p.59: He admitted that "China must be evangelized by the Chinese". (p.11) However, he seems to have brought out the subject, not by his understanding of the Chinese culture, but in the light of self-support. At the Shanghai Conference in 1890, he also said; "The first converts are of course brought into the Church by the foreign missionary. Afterwards the work of aggressive evangelization must be mainly through the native Christians. The millions of China must be brought to Christ by Chinamen. (Nevius, "Historical Review of Missionary Methods", p.171)

own expenses. ⁷³

Although such an application of the principle became one of requirements of baptism in Korea, this was much removed from Nevius's main idea. For this idea was later developed into the tradition that a catechumen had to have brought others to church in order to prove his faith before his baptism. As a short term mission strategy, this principle may be said to have been successful in gathering a large number of Christians. But the above quotation shows again that the missionaries seem to have been more concerned with the idea of self-support than that of self-propagation.

If the main purpose of the self-propagating principle was to mobilize every Christian as an active evangelist, this principle must have been backed up by the training of Koreans. As I have mentioned before, however, both the Bible or training class and the theological seminary formally took shape after 1900. This means that, during the formative period of the Korean Church before 1900, the early Korean Christians had little opportunity to have a proper training.

Although the educational and medical work was regarded as the "valuable evangelistic" means, the missionaries seem to have used these means in a narrow sense. For instance, section C-III of the Rules of 1891 defined two primary aims of education: (1) secular education; (2) religious education.⁷⁴ But these articles

⁷³ Underwood, "An object-lesson in self-support", pp.447f.

⁷⁴ (1) That the fundamental idea of a school is to educate in the various branches of useful knowledge, and thus fit the pupils for the various duties and responsibilities of active life. (2) That the religious and spiritual influence brought to bear on the pupils is the most important thing in the school.

seem to have been merely nominal as the Rules stipulated expressly requirements for admission in the same section as follows:

VIII. As pupils, the children of Christian parents are preferred to heathen children, because they are more likely to fulfil their engagements to stay in the school, and more likely to make good and reliable men and women in the end.

IX. Save in exceptional cases, children whose parents are beggars, or such as send their children to school solely to escape their maintenance, shall not be received as pupils.

X. Dull and stupid boys and girls shall not knowingly be received into the school, nor retained there as a matter of charity to them or their parents.

For the missionaries, the most important purpose of having schools was to secure "a valuable evangelistic agency".⁷⁵ For this reason, they seem to have preferred Christian children to non-Christian children. But from the beginning schools had to have the support of the Koreans, or the missionaries refused to open a new school. This policy, which resulted in the exclusion of children of the poorest class, indicated clearly that the missionaries placed too much emphasis on the self-supporting principle. Although the articles from the fourth to the eighth⁷⁶ referred to educational, literary, and medical work, this work seems to have been carried out only when the possibility of self-support was found among the Koreans.

Nevertheless, this policy was successful because of

Both of these ideas may and should be realized in a good school.

⁷⁵ Underwood, op.cit., p.448.

⁷⁶ See p.26.

Koreans' strong desire for education.⁷⁷ As in establishing congregations, the missionaries were faced with requests from the Koreans to open schools everywhere, and simply selected better places in which large mission stations were located.⁷⁸ For this reason, it can be said that the success of the self-propagating principle in the educational work as well as in the evangelistic work was due to Koreans' eagerness for a new religion and modern education.

2. Ross's Mission Methods

As Ross had never worked in Korea, one may jump to the conclusion that his mission method had nothing to do with the formation of the early Korean Church. But he did work among the Korean diaspora in Manchuria, and trained and sent some of them back to Korea. They played the most important part in the formation and development of the early Korean Church. If Ross had taught them thoroughly according to his mission method, there is no doubt that this would have affected the Korean Church. If the Nevius method had little influence on the Korean Church or failed to achieve the main goal, to plant self-supporting congregations during the formative period, the early Korean Church may have

⁷⁷ In the fifth article, Underwood described a reason for providing high schools or academies: "The mission has now a number of church primary schools, which are largely supported by the natives, and from which there are coming out young men and boys who have a strong desire for further instruction, who are ready to work to obtain it." (Underwood, op.cit., p.448)

⁷⁸ See chapter five, p.257: An advertisement by the Ŭiju Christian communities in 1906.

been more affected by the method of Ross than that of Nevius. This is a major reason why I examine in this section the mission method of Ross and its relation to the Korean Church. In addition, I will compare the mission method of Ross with the Nevius method, and this will help us to come to a conclusion about the origins of the Korean Protestant Church.

(1) Ross's model of mission

I have already mentioned some of Ross's works in chapter two. There are many reports, addresses, and articles that show his theological thoughts. Some important articles on mission are: "The Chinese Missionary Problem" in 1890, "Paul the Missionary", and "How the Gospel spreads in China" in 1891, in *The Missionary Review of the World*. After thirty years' missionary work in Manchuria, Ross developed his thoughts on mission methods in a book in 1903.⁷⁹ If *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches* was a rule book for the application of mission method set down by Nevius, Ross's *Mission Methods in Manchuria* was a book of mission principles full of case work.

Like Nevius, Ross found the model of a missionary in the Apostle Paul. For Ross, the Apostle Paul was the only model. He believed that every missionary should be "the real successor" or "imitator of Paul", and follow intellectually, physically, and spiritually "the footsteps of the great missionary to the

⁷⁹ *Mission Methods in Manchuria*, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, 1903. (pp.251)

Gentiles".⁸⁰ His definition of a missionary well illustrates his principle of mission method:

The missionary is the modern representative of the Apostles. He is only real successor of the Apostles. If the name "apostle" is Greek and the name "missionary" Latin, there is no difference in the signification of the terms. The "apostle" was the "sent" of the Church and the Holy Spirit -- sent from a Christian community to gather in converts, plant churches and raise up pastors among non-Christian people. So is now the "missionary" the "sent" of the Church and of the Holy Spirit, to accomplish exactly the same purpose.⁸¹

Along with such an understanding of the missionary, Ross advocated that, from Paul's life, we should learn (1) the kind of agent, (2) the form of itineracy, and (3) the style of preaching, along with the modes of missionary work recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. Ross considered these three elements as "the best" principle of mission and "the most successful" mission methods in Apostolic times.⁸²

(A) The qualifications of a Missionary

Ross understood that Paul, as the agent of the Church, was "the man already proved to be the best in the Church, the best spiritually, intellectually, and educationally".⁸³ Ross believed

⁸⁰ Ross, MMM, p.44.

⁸¹ Ross, "The Chinese Missionary Problem", MRW, December, 1890, p.902.

⁸² Ross, "Paul the Missionary", MRW, Sept., 1891, p.679.

⁸³ Ross, "Paul the Missionary", p.679: He also wrote, the missionary "must be of the Paul type, well educated, well trained, of conspicuous talent, of unquestioning faith; men whose spirituality of mind is as pronounced as their intellectual abilities are prominent". ("The Chinese Missionary Problem", p.907.)

that these qualifications were the most important element in the principles of mission. In his letter to R.P. Mackay,⁸⁴ bearing upon the Ecumenical Missionary Conference, Ross pleaded to the Conference to find the proper and ideal missionary, as such a missionary should "succeed under any methods".⁸⁵ The ideal missionary should be a person capable of "gaining the confidence and the respect of the people, of planting churches and raising and training pastors".⁸⁶ As "few and select" was his motto on the matter of the missionary,⁸⁷ he objected to the cry for large numbers of missionaries in China. At the Shanghai Missionary Conference in 1890, he spoke of the qualifications of missionaries in relation to the training of native agents.

It appears to me that the training of native evangelists is one of the most important questions before the Conference. I am convinced that China is to be converted by the Chinese. In order that they should be efficient agents they must be thoroughly well trained, not only in the Christian but in other knowledge. Paul was, no doubt, a more efficient agent by reason of the education he had received prior to his conversion. The time has come when we should make an appeal to the home churches, not merely for more missionaries and lay agents, but for a few of the most talented and earnest and conspicuous men in the home churches, who would be like Sauls over us all and would undertake this most important work of thoroughly training native evangelists. ⁸⁸

⁸⁴ He was the Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee, Presbyterian Church in Canada. ("Choice and Qualifications of Missionaries", Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900, vol.I, p.301)

⁸⁵ Mackay R.P., "Choice and Qualifications of missionaries", p.301.

⁸⁶ Ross, "The Chinese Missionary Problem", p.902.

⁸⁷ MFMC-UPC, no.8025 (his report of 26th May 1890).

⁸⁸ Record of the Missionary Conference, Shanghai, 1890, p.505.

For Ross, the qualifications of missionaries were the most important prerequisite for the commencement of mission, because he regarded the missionary, first of all, as the educator of the native agents. Although he found this model of a missionary in Paul, he seems to have followed the idea of Alexander Duff, the missionary as educator.⁸⁹ This does not mean that he narrowed down the concept of missionary as educator. It was because he thought from his experience that the training of native agents was the most important work on the mission. For example, he confessed that for seventeen years he and his colleagues converted less than twenty four among twelve hundred baptized members in Manchuria.⁹⁰ The others were converted by the native agents. Therefore, it is not surprising that Ross placed a strong emphasis on the native agents, along with the foreign agents; this will be discussed later.

(B) The form of itineracy

Ross understood one of the characteristics of Paul's itineracy as follows:

Paul "itinerated through all the places where the Gospel was known. But in places where the Gospel had not been preached he remained for days, weeks, months, and even years till he was driven away by attempts on his life. To impart a knowledge of what Paul considered

⁸⁹ He wrote; "Through the good hand of God working for us, we have never experienced that urgency for Western education which Dr. Duff felt in Calcutta; yet we believe his theory is largely correct, that Western education is the best eradicator of native superstition." (MMM, pp.100f.)

⁹⁰ Records of Missionary Conference in Shanghai, p.504.

essential truth required not a few lessons, but the preaching and teaching of years.⁸¹

As Christian truth was unknown in China at that time, Ross adopted the second form of itineracy of Paul as the itinerating principle. In practice, Ross divided the modes of itineracy into two forms. One was simple travel, with active colportage, mainly to survey lands and people in relation to future work. This form of itineracy was only needed in the early period of mission work before a missionary acquired a knowledge of the language. Ross suggested that, if a limited knowledge of the language was permitted, public street preaching would be useful. But this form of itineracy was only "to lay the foundation for future solid work", and "to form intelligent plans for the future development of the mission".⁸² Therefore, Ross defined that "this form of itineracy is not an efficient or satisfactory mode of conducting mission work".⁸³ Ross thought that it was, "as a mode of mission work, virtually labour lost".⁸⁴

Ross recommended the other form of itineracy, as "an essential element"⁸⁵ in the mode of mission in China. To care for a vast country like China with a limited number of missionaries,

⁸¹ Ross, "Paul the Missionary", p.680.

⁸² Ross, MMM, p.41.: At the London Missionary Conference in 1888, he spoke that he was acting almost every day in the capacity of a colporteur, an "extremely enthusiastic colporteur", before he could preach. (Report of the London Missionary Conference, vol.1, p.236)

⁸³ *ibid.*: Ross also said that although he began his life-work in Manchuria as an itinerant at the early stage, it was simply because he was not fit to carry on the work of a settled station. (Report of the London Missionary Conference, vol.2, p.42)

⁸⁴ MMM, pp.43f.

⁸⁵ MMM, p.42.

a missionary had to settle down in large cities as centres and to superintend out-stations. Superintending, as a second form of itineracy, was to "encourage, stimulate, instruct, and direct the evangelists", to "exhort the members", and to "examine the catechumens, and baptize" those who seem to fit for the ordinance.⁹⁶ For Ross, this was "the only practical way, and beyond comparison the most speedy way",⁹⁷ in which the Gospel could be proclaimed all over China, and "absolutely indispensable for the prosecution of the work on so extensive a scale".⁹⁸

On the matter of itineracy, Nevius seems to have preferred the first form, or to have had no systematic concept of itineracy. The Great Commission, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature", was his reason for itineracy. Only he advocated this;

Do as the Apostle did. Go everywhere preaching the Gospel. You can not know where there may be some one waiting for you and some one to whom you have been sent. Ask for direction. Christ's sheep will hear His voice. ⁹⁹

Although Nevius seems to have emphasized wider itineracy than Ross, it seemed to be rather the itinerating principle. There is no doubt that he also used his itineracy to superintend

⁹⁶ MMM, p.43.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*: At the London Missionary Conference, he also spoke of it in the same tone; "Train them as fully and as thoroughly and make them as able preachers as you can. Send them out to itinerate; superintend them; go after them; itinerate in that way. It seems to me that this is the only way in which you can bring the settled work and the itinerating work into harmonious and effective co-operation." (Report of the Conference, vol.2, pp.43f.)

⁹⁸ MMM, p.44.

⁹⁹ Nevius, PDMC, p.78.

out-stations in almost the same way as Ross did. After five years' itineration without fruit in Central Shantung in the early 1860s, Nevius seems to have adopted the same mode as Ross.¹⁰⁰ But, as he intended to use this occasion as a good opportunity for his personal evangelism through street preaching or personal contact with Chinese, his itineracy without definite plan could not help being casual, and his concept of itineracy differed very much that of Ross.

In the case of the missionaries in Korea, it is interesting to see that they followed in the footsteps of Ross. The early missionaries itinerated widely first to ascertain lands and people of Korea. Later they itinerated, not because of their method of mission, but to respond to calls from Koreans. Shearer commented on patterns of itineracy in northwest Korea.

The purpose of later itineration in the northwest, unlike that in many mission fields and in much of south Korea, was not primarily for distributing literature or "wide seed-sowing". Its two purposes were: one, to teach and examine those who had decided to become Christians and wanted to become catechumens or to be baptized, and two, to conduct the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Nevius himself confessed that he itinerated for five years in Shantung without a single convert. (MMM, p.86) When Ross spoke of mission method regarding itineracy, he also referred to the failure and success of Nevius: "I was very much interested in the account of his [Nevius] missions which I had from his own lips a year ago. ... For fifteen years he laboured, itinerating for six or eight months of the year over a certain district. Out of that district, and a very large district it was, he has never had a single convert." From this man's village, Nevius could have some fruit of his work, with over eleven hundred members. Ross implied that Nevius was able to succeed in his work only after he adopted the mode of superintendency, and that the similarity between the Nevius methods and his was coincidence. (Report of the London Missionary Conference, vol.2, pp.42) His remark on "fifteen years without fruit" was later corrected by J. Hudson Taylor. (p.47)

¹⁰¹ Shearer R., Wildfire, p.124

Shearer saw rightly that rapid church growth had a general effect on actual missionary method. For instance, as I have mentioned before, he understood that great growth demanded rigorous self-support, and affected medical and educational policies, as hospitals and educational institutions were not needed to draw or attract converts, "because the churches were blossoming and multiplying by other means".¹⁰² In other words, it was because church growth was so rapid that the missionaries could not apply properly their own mission method, namely the modified Nevius method, to the field. In this circumstances, it is difficult to say that the missionaries in Korea followed the Nevius method fully. Whether or not they were forced by circumstances, in the itinerating method, their actual practice was rather similar to that of Ross.

(C) The style of preaching

Ross understood that one of the reasons for the success of Paul was the logical power of his discourse. From the life of Paul, Ross seems to have learned his principle of preaching. He wrote;

Paul had no particular form of sermon. He had no tricks of speech or manner, no craving for popularity. He first of all learned the mental and spiritual condition of his hearers, and adapted what he had to say to their knowledge and wants. This is what he signified when he wrote of "taking people by guile". ... He reasoned, declaimed, recited historical facts, quoted from authors, and adopted every plan to further the end in view. His logical powers were employed in argument, his

¹⁰² Shearer R., *ibid.*: cf. J.H. Wells, M.D., Letter to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. (1st March, 1897, P'yŏngyang, Korea)

whole soul poured forth in appeal. He combined the art of the rhetorician with the reasoning of the logician. Thus he was able to make himself "all things to all men"; whence his unexampled success.¹⁰³

Ross also understood that "the mode of propagating Christianity adopted by the Apostles" was preaching, and laid out the general principles of preaching:

I do believe that men of special qualifications are required as preachers, who, like Paul, will learn systematically and sympathetically the special conditions of social life and the special characteristics and idiosyncrasies of a people, and by means of this knowledge and sympathy apply the gospel to their special conditions.¹⁰⁴

Under this principle, Ross emphasized the importance of public preaching as "the most conceivable method ... to gain the Chinese to Christianity".¹⁰⁵ In order to proclaim the Gospel to the Chinese, he seems to have used every opportunity of coming in contact with the people. He had conversations with an individual or a crowd in the open street, in marketplaces, walking along the roads, or staying at an inn. Ross also regarded this kind of conversation as "preaching" on the whole, as he followed no particular style of preaching and adopted a Chinese mode of discourse with questions and answers. For instance, at the early stage of his work Ross discovered that public preaching starting with a short prayer and a hymn was not suitable for the public meeting, because the Chinese had never heard public prayer before. Thus he ceased the use of this form of prayer in the public meeting. It was not important for Ross to follow home

¹⁰³ Ross, "Paul the Missionary", p.680.

¹⁰⁴ Ross, MMM, p.232.

¹⁰⁵ MMM, p.233.

models, but to attract the attention of the Chinese. Ross suggested a way of making the deepest impression:

To secure the respect and goodwill of a Chinese audience, there is no surer method than to show a sympathetic acquaintance with moral standards and religious truths contained in their own classics.¹⁰⁶

Through his experiences of the early days, Ross acknowledged that the ultimate victory over the hostile Chinese was "owing largely to a freely expressed admiration of Confucius, and the constant quotation of his more important ethical teachings".¹⁰⁷ "Self-control" was also recommended as one of the most essential elements for the impressive and respectable preacher.¹⁰⁸

Ross thought that the use of the public chapel was "the most influential method of imparting Christian truth to the general public",¹⁰⁹ but he placed more emphasis on preaching by the native agents. It is certain that, at the early stage of his work when there were no Christians, he preached daily in the public chapel. When Christianity spread, he originated self-propagating work by the Chinese. He tried first to secure and establish a chapel in a new place through the native agents, and later to locate the native evangelists and let them do most of the work as he did. It was because he believed that "for pioneering, for the work of imparting the elementary doctrines of Christianity, for leading men to take the first steps to Christ, the native is

¹⁰⁶ Ross, MMM, p.243.

¹⁰⁷ MMM, p.66.

¹⁰⁸ MMM, p.67, 239.

¹⁰⁹ MMM, p.45.

greatly superior to the foreigner".¹¹⁰ For this work, he had to make every Christian a preacher.

In the case of Nevius, public preaching had a less important place in the missionary work, as he thought that conversion resulted from "Bible translation, tract distribution, chapel preaching, translating and book-making, schools, and itinerations".¹¹¹ Through his personal experience, public preaching in the open street or in the marketplaces was regarded as not unimportant, but "very ineffectual", because it was very difficult to attract the continued attention of a crowd.¹¹² For this reason, Nevius recommended private conversation in a quiet spot such as an inn. This probably stemmed from his concept of preaching. In his opinion, the Chinese in a new station could not follow formal preaching with a specific sense of logic, so Nevius emphasized "teaching" rather than preaching.¹¹³

There would be difference between preaching and teaching in terms of propagating Christian truth. The term "teaching" employed by Nevius may be regarded as a different style of preaching. But his attitude toward the Chinese was very different from that of Ross. While Ross respected the Chinese and their culture, and sought the best way to approach them from a favourable understanding of them, Nevius treated the Chinese as children in relation to their mental development. He may have

¹¹⁰ MMM, p.97.

¹¹¹ Nevius, PDMC, pp.83f.: He seems to have distinguished chapel preaching from public preaching which was usually combined with itineracy.

¹¹² Nevius, PDMC, p.81.

¹¹³ Nevius, PDMC, p.36.

thought that the rate of illiteracy of the people in his districts was "somewhat greater" than that of the whole population of China.¹¹⁴ From his point of view, he may have thought that the Chinese were too ignorant to receive formal preaching, and had to learn to read first. Negative attitude towards the Chinese may have been the cause of little response to his public preaching, or his sense of failure in public preaching may have made him think of public preaching as an ineffectual method. He reported his failure:

I prosecuted the work laboriously, making long tours over the same ground every spring and autumn, but for five years had not a single convert. The work at that time was quite different from what it is at present. Then my labors were entirely with the previously unreached masses, and consisted in preaching at fairs, in inns and on the street, in book distribution and efforts to form acquaintances with well disposed persons wherever I could find them. ¹¹⁵

After this failure, Nevius seems to have changed his method of approach to the Chinese, and set up a rule; "I reach the masses indirectly through the Christians; they doing the aggressive work, and I following it up, directing and organizing it".¹¹⁶ At this point, we can see that his method was quite similar to that of Ross.

In the case of the missionaries in Korea, during the formative period, as public preaching was prohibited by law, there is doubt as to how actively the missionaries engaged in street preaching. Not only because of the influence of the Nevius

¹¹⁴ Nevius, PDMC, p.41 : He reported that "not more than one out of twenty of the men can read, and not one of a thousand of women".

¹¹⁵ Nevius, PDMC, p.86.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

method, but also because of circumstances, the missionaries had to use means of personal contact, which was "the most effective method".¹¹⁷ Private conversation with individuals or a group of people was carried out in a "sarang".¹¹⁸ When the early missionaries itinerated, they visited and often stayed in the "sarang", where men gather every night together to talk over all kinds of things. Through such visits, the missionaries could contact the Koreans freely. Before establishing sub-stations, the "sarang" was used as a place for worship or for the training classes. As the "sarang" was unique to Korea, the use of the "sarang" would be the most effective method to reach the people for preaching. A more important fact was that this was the place where the Korean Christians could propagate naturally the Christian truth among their families and friends, since the village structure was normally based on strong family ties. It is difficult to see that the missionaries initiated the use of the "sarang". It was rather a natural outcome of the traditional social structure.

(2) Ross's Mission Method

While Nevius wrote his book just like a guide book for mission method, Ross wrote his book, with fifteen chapters, as "a systematic study of missionary methods", based on the principles

¹¹⁷ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, p.160.

¹¹⁸ Every Korean house at that time had a "sarang" outer-room, and "anbang", inner-room. While the women stayed in "anbang", men used the "sarang", which was often used as a guest-room.

of Paul.¹¹⁹ It is difficult to categorize those chapters, as they were closely interwoven with each other. For instance, as we have seen in the previous section, when Ross spoke of an effective mode of itineracy, he suggested that it should be carried out by the native agents. It means that this subject must be dealt with the education of agents as well as the self-propagating principle. For our discussion of the origins of the Korean Church, however, the chapters can be related to self-support, self-government, self-propagation, and the other issues, since Ross advocated that the missionary has to discover "the best method for speedily establishing a self-supporting, self-guiding, and self-extending Church in China" and everywhere.¹²⁰

(A) Self-support

Ross dealt with the question of self-support in his chapter on "church finance". The principle of self-support of the churches was one of the important issues in his mission method. It was for "the interests of the Church itself", for the independence of the Church.¹²¹ Here is his principle of self-

¹¹⁹ In the preface to the book, Ross hoped that it might be useful to the Christian Church, as a small contribution towards a systematic study of missionary methods. (MMM, p.5) The contents of the chapters are (1) Chinese Consciousness of sin, (2) Itineracy, (3) Street preaching, (4) Chapel extension, (5) Catechumens, (6) Native agents, (7) Native church work, (8) The Presbytery, (9) Church finance, (10) Education, (11) Litigation, (12) Asceticism, (13) Social customs, (14) Preaching, and (15) Chinese aid to preaching.

¹²⁰ Ross, MMM, p.201: He seems to have used the terms "self-guide" for self-govern, and "self-extend" for self-propagate.

¹²¹ MMM, p.133.

support:

We have thus from the beginning of our mission endeavoured to enlist not only the conversational talents of the Chinese to spread the gospel everywhere, but also the liberality of the Christians, first towards self-support, then towards aggressive extension. Believing that these aims would be better attained if the natives had the expenditure as well as the collection of funds entirely under their own control, we laid down clear principle that the foreign mission considered itself responsible for the proclamation of the truth among outsiders, but that every Christian community must hold itself responsible for all expenditure on their own congregational and, if possible, on their own educational work. The communities manifestly too weak for complete independence, received a small grant. But every community formed into a congregation must be independent. In calling a pastor, they were not to count on any money from foreign sources.¹²²

Ross seems to have advocated a strict financial self-support. But, unlike Nevius, Ross was not interested in just planting financially independent churches. From the above statement, it is obvious that the financial self-support of the church was not his primary concern. His greatest concern was the best way to spread the gospel, and thus to first seek to enable agents who could make self-supporting principles possible. In fact, Ross thought that the question of foreign aid was "a matter of very secondary importance",¹²³ and the source of money was "insignificant".¹²⁴

Here is a typical example of his thought on this matter. In response to Ross's appeal, the UP Theological students collected £1200 for the Manchuria Mission at the end of 1881. With expectation that the money should be forwarded to him, without

¹²² Ross, MMM, pp.141f.

¹²³ MMM, p.104.

¹²⁴ MMM, p.105.

the sanction of the Board, Ross employed native agents, bought a house, and started to build another house in Newchwang. When he asked the Board for the students' money or £400 for his expenditure, the Board, expressing their disappointment, gave a sanction for the house purchased, but disapproved the erection of the second house and the employment of the agents, on the ground that he had to have a previous sanction of the Board.¹²⁵ As the Board did not show Ross their intention of sending the students' money, Ross wrote letters to the Board, expressing his decisive opinion. The Minutes summarized his letters;

In conclusion, Mr. Ross says that he has been greatly wronged by the Board; it is duty of the Church at home to make sure that the missionary suffers no avoidable hardship, and to provide for him a decent amount of comfort, yet he has never been asked how he did or whether he required anything: as the funds were low, he abstained from asking anything special in the past, and when an outside agency steps in to provide him with proper premises, the Board intercepts the money, and lectures him for impertinence in expecting to get it. A crisis, Mr. Ross says, has come in his missionary life, and his next step depends much or entirely on the Board's reply to this letter. ¹²⁶

¹²⁵ MFMC-UPC for 1882, no. 2831 (25th April 1882): The agents whom Ross employed must be the Korean translators, as Ross seems to have proposed that BFBS should take over his entire Mission in relation to his Korean translation, because he always sought the best way of prosecuting mission work. (MFMC-UPC for 1883, no. 3503, 3809, 3551) The house erected at Ross's personal expense seems to have been used as a Chapel, and to have been later rented to the BFBS as a printing house. This also caused an unhappy relationship between him and the Board. From the Board's side, Ross built the chapel without the permission of the Board, and even in the face of their express prohibition. For Ross, the Board did not assist him in his work. (MFMC-UPC for 1883, nos. 3551, 3809; for 1884, nos. 4094, 4179, 4393) As both matters were closely related to the Korean work, it indicates that this seems to have been his most important work at that time.

¹²⁶ MFMC-UPC for 1882, no. 3059 (26th September 1882: Ross's letters on 12th & 29th June, 5th July 1882)

After many twists and turns between Ross and the Board,¹²⁷ this matter seems to have settled down. But he could not properly carry on his mission work, including the Korean work, without the full support of the Board. For this reason, Ross built a Chinese inn on the mission compound in Yingk'ou. Ross reasoned that this was in order to find some other means, because he felt that his relationship with the Board had been quite uncertain.¹²⁸ Ross requested the Board give some extra funds in order to employ the native agents and keep the Koreans with him, but his request was always refused by the Board on the ground that the service of native agents should be done voluntarily at first.¹²⁹ But being a proprietor of a Chinese inn at that time must have been a big scandal. It is not surprising that the Board requested Ross "to give up the property", and "to cease from all business transactions outside of his own proper work as a missionary", or

¹²⁷ See MFMC-UPC for 1882 nos. 3165 & 3285: In his letter of 18th September 1882, Ross thought that he was publicly disgraced, and expressed his intention of resignation. His final words were; "Whatever the issue of this affair, I shall be willing to remain for a year till the new missionaries are able to look after themselves and the Mission. I do not wish to see this hopeful Mission go to pieces because of any injury inflicted on me personally. It seems to me sad that the interest aroused in my Mission among the students should have resulted in this." (MFMC-UPC for 1882, no.3165)

¹²⁸ MFMC-UPC for 1885, no.4498: His letter of 24th October 1884.

¹²⁹ When Ross appealed to the Board for the native agents, he already mentioned something of his future action. "If the two or three score pounds necessary to give them the very little they get is beyond the means of the Board, I shall find it otherwise; ... but if the Board looks at this most important of all Mission work as it appears to me to do, I shall find means otherwise of carrying on the work as I know it should be carried on". (MFMC-UPC for 1883, no. 3449) With reference to the Koreans, see no. 3835.

cease to be a missionary of the Church.¹³⁰ This matter was cleared up as Ross gave up the property.¹³¹ Ross's action may be, even today, criticized by many churches. But this matter shows clearly that Ross considered the source of money as really being insignificant.¹³² This incident may be regarded as an illustration of how Ross understood self-supporting ministry.

Ross asked one question about the overwhelming importance of mission methods: "How is the work to be best and most speedily accomplished?" He answered that "the native Christians are incomparably the best agents for the speedy scattering of the good seed of the word".¹³³ He even rejected the use of term "foreign" and "native", as he believed that "the Church of Christ is one, undivided and indivisible".¹³⁴ When he defined what the ambition of the missionary should be, Ross well illustrated the purpose of establishing a self-supporting church.

"to create a native Church strong in numbers, versed in Scripture, instructed in the whole counsel of God (Acts 20:27) - a Church which will become self-reliant, freely self-supporting, and gladly aggressive in reforming the world, and gradually but steadily extending the boundaries of the kingdom - an influence powerfully leavening for good, working towards righteousness in the whole land, and upon all classes of men".¹³⁵

¹³⁰ MFMC-UPC for 1885, no. 4574.

¹³¹ MFMC-UPC for 1885, no.4840.

¹³² The other typical example of his thought on this matter can be seen when Ross suggested that the Board invest some money for the Mission property because the silver market in Manchuria offered the prospect of a good return. MFMC-UPC for 1894, no.465)

¹³³ MMM, p.102.

¹³⁴ MMM, p.105.

¹³⁵ MMM, pp.198f.

This statement may show the general principle of Ross's mission method. It is obvious that Ross did not try to plant self-supported churches, but to create the self-reliant churches in China working together with the World Churches towards the creation of the kingdom of God. Ross seems to have used "self-reliant" as a comprehensive term including self-support, self-propagation, and self-government. For establishing the self-reliant church, he placed less emphasis on the financial self-support than the others.

(B) Self-propagation

The most important issue in Ross's mission method was the principle of self-propagation. From this point of view, Ross trained every Christian as a preacher, and taught that it was their "duty and privilege to teach to others" the doctrines which they had themselves acquired.¹³⁶ For this purpose, the training and employment of agents was so stressed that Ross could regard the self-support principle as a secondary matter. When he spoke of the importance of the native agents, Ross asserted his conviction:

It is the duty of the Church in the West to use every means, and to employ every agency available, to bring the peace of the gospel to every sorrow-laden heart. If the sum of money set apart by the Church in the West is the utmost extent of its ability, let the Church see that it is put to the best possible use in the ways calculated to produce the greatest possible good. Let part of it be utilised in sending forth the best men procurable and most fitted to train native Christians to become intelligent and fruitful agents; and part of it to support these agents, while yet the native

¹³⁶ MMM, p.91.

Church is unable to undertake that duty. ¹³⁷

On this point of using foreign money, the Ross's thought was quite different from that of Nevius. While Nevius opposed in principle the idea of the employment of paid agents, Ross did not object to it, but was in favour of employing agents at the first stage of mission work. Nevius agreed of course that "the millions of China must be brought to Christ by Chinamen",¹³⁸ but objected strongly to the employment of the paid agents.

At the Shanghai Missionary Conference, Ross insisted that the employment of the "earnest" agents was "the wisest, the most effective and the cheapest plan to provide the means for supporting these men to enable them to give their undivided time, thought and labor to this work".¹³⁹ As a response to the others, Nevius tried to prove at the Conference that he did not oppose the employment of the paid agents.¹⁴⁰ But his idea was laid down as a rigid rule restricting, indeed virtually excluding, the employment of paid agents.¹⁴¹ In this circumstance, there was no

¹³⁷ MMM, p.106.

¹³⁸ Nevius, "Historical review of missionary methods", p.171

¹³⁹ Record of the Shanghai Missionary Conference 1890, p.505

¹⁴⁰ Record of the Shanghai Missionary Conference 1890, p.506
: His argument was that the native agents could be employed when it was evident that God chose them.

¹⁴¹ With regard to the selection and employment of native agents, Nevius mentioned the rules adopted by his own mission in Shantung: II. "No one shall be employed by the mission as colporteur or helper, who has not been at least three years a professing Christian, unless in exceptional cases to be determined by three-fourths of the mission."

III. "No one shall be employed by the mission as a colporteur or helper who has not shown zeal for Christian voluntary labor for the spiritual good of his own family and neighborhood."

XI. "No one shall be hired to do occasional evangelistic work in his own neighborhood. ("Historical review of missionary methods",

room for employing the paid agents. Ross was also aware of the danger of the employment of agents at the early stage of the missionary work. But that was a difficulty which the missionary had, not to run away from, but to confront and solve for aggressive development of the native Church. In this sense, Ross wrote:

Abstaining from the employment of native preachers to prevent possible abuses is of a piece with the moral cowardice in the religious world which drove men from the crowd to hide themselves in mountain caves. Errors, and even failure, are inevitable in all human agencies, even under the wisest of men.¹⁴²

This strong statement does not mean that Nevius and the missionaries in Korea were cowards who were afraid of failure. But they seem to have rather reluctant to see slow growth in the church. While Ross sought to establish a ground for "a gradual evolutionary growth of the Christian leaven", they seem to have been under "the pressure of hot-house growth".¹⁴³ Ross believed that the mode of gradual growth was "more healthy, more durable, and more efficient" than rapid growth.¹⁴⁴ For this reason, he placed much emphasis on the education of the common Chinese people as well as of Christians.

The self-propagation of the church, the training of agents and Christians, and the education of people in general, have been regarded as among the most important tasks by the missionaries.

p.174)

¹⁴² Ross, MMM, p.105.

¹⁴³ Ross, MMM, p.156: Ross also stated that Theological College was "the outcome of the gradual evolution of the work of instruction". (p.100)

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

Beside the importance of training agents, Ross thought that the general education of the people was an excellent channel to meet and impress the Chinese, since "the most serious obstacle to the propagation and reception of the gospel was the general belief that missions were a political agency".¹⁴⁵

Nevius suggested only a form of mission schools which was "furnished on the conditions" of having Christian teachers, learning through Christian books, and being examined and controlled by the foreign missionary and his helper.¹⁴⁶ But Nevius confessed that this plan was not successful, and thought only that "a kind of training school" for all the Christians in stations was very "practicable and satisfactory".¹⁴⁷ In training classes or schools, the Bible and tracts seem to have been the main text books, and additional elementary instruction was given "in astronomy, geography, history, and general knowledge".¹⁴⁸ For Nevius, secular education was not regarded as the mission of the Christian Church.

The schooling mode of Ross was quite distinct from that of Nevius, not only by emphasizing the importance of secular education, but also by adopting the Chinese education system. Ross suggested three kinds of schooling system; training classes for the Church members, mission schools for the Christian children, and public schools for the non-Christian children. In the training classes, Ross did not emphasize knowledge of all the

¹⁴⁵ MMM, p.168.

¹⁴⁶ Nevius, PDMC, p.51.

¹⁴⁷ PDMC, p.52.

¹⁴⁸ PDMC, p.40.

science of the West. By taking advantage of the exceptional memory of the Chinese, Ross led them to "memorize the verbiage of Scripture, to be familiar with its incidents, its parables, its allusions to social customs, its national characteristics, and the circumstances connected with the ordinary life of the Jew".¹⁴⁹ This kind of training was followed by the interpretation and exposition of the Scripture. His major concern in these classes was to "make of the Christians the best possible preachers, evangelists, and pastors".¹⁵⁰ In addition to the this teaching, Ross taught them "to engage regularly in public prayer",¹⁵¹ "to propagate the faith" to others,¹⁵² and to govern "all the Church business".¹⁵³ However, he did not neglect the secular education of the Christians, as he believed that the Chinese honoured a "literary degree above all other social distinctions".¹⁵⁴ Although he asserted "the necessity for endless instruction" as "the great duty of the missionary", these training systems may have been a short term project.

For a long term project, in other words, for the gradual evolutionary growth of the Church, Ross insisted that "the missionary should devote a good deal of thought and time to the

¹⁴⁹ MMM, p.109.

¹⁵⁰ MMM, p.111.

¹⁵¹ MMM, p.112.

¹⁵² MMM, p.115: Ross reported that the great majority of the Manchurian Christians preached without the expectation of fee or reward.

¹⁵³ MMM, p.117.

¹⁵⁴ MMM, p.144.

development of the dormant intellect by elementary education".¹⁵⁵ His idea was realized by establishing in 1873 in Newchwang a school for the young of the Church and non-Christian children. In this school, only the Confucian classics were taught by non-Christian teachers. The school was considered as "a means of catching the people by guile",¹⁵⁶ but Ross gave another reason for establishing this kind of school at the early stage of mission.

The establishment of such a school, ... was believed to be the most efficient way of proving that the missionary did not intend to subvert native customs. The influence of that school gradually and silently spread in the vicinity, and gained a few friends to the missionary. It removed a good deal of active hostility.¹⁵⁷

When the number of Christian children increased after a couple of years, the character of the school was changed into a kind of mission school. But Ross kept the Chinese classics as the main body of teaching. He opened the same kind of school in Moukden in 1875. He witnessed the school;

Three years the school bore its silent but irrefutable testimony to the compatibility of Christian belief with Confucian teaching. A favourable opportunity occurring at the end of this period, the school was closed. It had served its purpose.¹⁵⁸

Through the operation of this school, Ross was able to not only teach all children to read and write, but also "prepare the way for the introduction of a more highly educated membership, and especially of a more thoroughly equipped staff of

¹⁵⁵ MMM, p.144.

¹⁵⁶ MMM, p.145; 2 Cor.12:16.

¹⁵⁷ MMM, pp.147f.

¹⁵⁸ MMM, p.155.

evangelists, preachers, and pastors".¹⁵⁹ Ross later opened only mission schools, which started and closed with prayer, taught a daily Bible lesson, and had Christian teachers. But the ordinary Chinese classics were the main textbook in all the schools. This must have been an important strategy to penetrate naturally into hostile China. It seems to have resulted from Ross's positive understanding of Chinese culture.

The Chinese classics are incomparably purer than the classics of the West. Being grounded in this excellent literature, the Christian scholar will at least escape the reproach of being ignorant of the literature of his native country, and can, with more knowledge and wisdom, give an answer to those who ask the reason for the hope that is in them. ¹⁶⁰

From his deep understanding of the Chinese classics, we can see the sound principle of self-propagation, as Ross believed that the creation of indigenous churches on the deeper teaching of Confucianism was "the continuous aim of the Church in Manchuria".¹⁶¹ It is possible that the early Korean converts of Ross may have been trained along these lines on this principle. The defect of the self-propagating principle of the American missionaries may not have been a real factor in the firm foundation of the early Korean Church.

(C) Self-government

When Ross spoke of duties of the Chinese evangelists, we may see the principle of Ross's mission method. Ross laid down a

¹⁵⁹ MMM, p.155f.

¹⁶⁰ MMM, p.156.

¹⁶¹ MMM, p.155.

principle that the duties of the evangelists were the duties of the missionary, "with the sole exception of the administration of the sacraments and of discipline".¹⁶² The evangelists had to preach to the non-Christians, and to meet and teach the inquirers and catechumens preparing for baptism. Because Ross believed that the native agents had "complete access" to the thoughts of the Chinese,¹⁶³ he let the native pastors and elders "discuss and decide every case independently of the missionary" on the ground of self-government.¹⁶⁴ Although there is a certain element of the self-propagation principle in his method, this mode of work may be regarded as applying the principle of self-government. But it is difficult to see the difference between self-propagation and self-government in Ross's mission method. Without self-government, self-propagation of the Church can not be carried out. In this sense, Ross used the terms "independence", "self-guide", and "self-reliance" rather than the term "self-government". When Ross reported the first ordination of Pastor Liu in 1896, he affirmed:

The step taken to raise an independent Church in Manchuria is the inauguration of a period of greater activity and greater self-reliance on the part of the native Church.¹⁶⁵

For such self-government of the Church, several steps were taken. Before the Presbytery was first established in 1891, Ross organized the deacons' court which met twice a month or more

¹⁶² MMM, p.96.

¹⁶³ MMM, p.97.

¹⁶⁴ MMM, p.117.

¹⁶⁵ MFMC-UPC for 1897, no.2329.

frequently. Ross explained the businesses of the court:

It is summoned at irregular times, if any serious business demands attention. It not only administers all the funds for congregational purposes, but takes the oversight of all the temporal affairs connected with Church life. The pastor and elders are members of this court, as the deacons did not see their way to assume all the responsibility for the work they had to do.¹⁶⁶

There is no doubt that Ross tried to let them govern their church by themselves. Although the first meeting of the Presbytery was composed of the foreign missionaries only, and was conducted in English,¹⁶⁷ one of its first resolutions was very significant for the self-government of the Church.

The Presbytery should be the Church Court of the native Church, which would be called the Presbyterian Church of Manchuria; ... all the business should be transacted in the Chinese language. ¹⁶⁸

It is important not only because of the contents of the resolution, but also because it was realized in the following year when the first native Presbytery met. In this meeting, all the matters relating to the native Church were discussed in Chinese. The administration of all Church affairs was also handed over to the Presbytery in which the native elders soon outnumbered the foreigners. It means that the Chinese themselves governed their church. For instance, the Presbytery, in which the Chinese elders outnumbered the missionaries, had responsibility to select students of the theological class. This indicates that one important function for self-government was also in the hands

¹⁶⁶ MMM, p.117.

¹⁶⁷ This Presbytery was significant, as it was the symbol of a single Manchurian Church resulting from the union of the Irish and Scottish missions in 1890.

¹⁶⁸ MMM, p.124.

of the Chinese. At the local level, Ross recognized the evangelists as "the head of the Church" in their regions, and gave them all the powers, which Ross called duties, of administration.¹⁶⁹ Ross gave its reason:

The safest way is to let the Chinese decide their own affairs from their own sense of right; while we carefully instruct them where we believe or suspect them unable, from their mental attitude, to judge according to abstract right. We should never legislate, or introduce measures which are binding, where the Chinese conscience is not trained to follow us.¹⁷⁰

As Ross believed that "coercion is unwise", and that "true religion is ever voluntary and hearty",¹⁷¹ the Chinese Christians were not trained to act in a certain way by the will of the missionary. A more important fact here is his positive recognition of the different moral character and conduct of Chinese from those of the West. In this way, Ross paved the way for self-government by the Chinese.

(D) Social customs and mission method

Christianity has been introduced into totally different cultures from the West. For this reason, the missionary's attitude towards certain social customs has very much affected the development of the missionary church. For instance, the question of ancestral worship and polygamy were, and still are important issues in China and Korea as well as in many parts of the world. But it is surprising that Nevius did not touch on them

¹⁶⁹ MMM, p.95.

¹⁷⁰ MMM, p.131.

¹⁷¹ MMM, p.132.

in his mission method. It is probably because Nevius thought that these issues were absolutely unacceptable questions which could not be justified in any way. He seems to have had a firm opinion about social customs.

Some have supposed that we are warranted in the first presentation of Christianity in withholding those doctrines which antagonize Chinese systems and are calculated to excite prejudice and opposition, presenting only those features which are conciliatory and attractive, thus drawing the people to us and gaining an influence over them and afterwards giving them instruction in the complete system of Christian truth as they are able to bear it. I doubt very much whether such a course is justified by the teaching and example of our Saviour and the Apostles. ¹⁷²

Although he did not mention problems of ancestor worship or polygamy, it is obvious that letting the Chinese follow or keep such social customs was absolutely unacceptable from his fundamental perspective. Perhaps his view may have been represented by the missionaries in Korea, as they adopted the following rules for the native Church of Korea.

(I) First, since the Most High God hates the glorifying and worshiping of spirits, follow not the custom, even the honoring of ancestral spirits, but worship and obey God alone.

(IV) Since God has appointed one woman for one man, let there be not only no abandoning of each other, but let there be a wife and no concubines, a husband and no lewdness. ¹⁷³

Ancestor Worship had been one of the major reasons for the series of persecutions of the Korean Catholics for a century from the beginning of its mission history.

For the Protestant missionaries also, this issue must have

¹⁷² Nevius, PDMC, p.88.

¹⁷³ "Christian Missions in Korea", condensed from the Secretarial report of Robert E. Speer, November, 1897: MRW, September, 1898, p.682: For the complete rules, see Appendix III.

been a great obstacle to evangelizing the Koreans. But it is strange that the rule against ancestor worship was adopted in 1897, the end of formative period of the Korean Church. At the Shanghai Conference in 1890, Ross already reported a remark of Korean king's father that, if the Church could tolerate ancestral worship, Korea should become a Christian country in a few years. Judging from that fact, the missionaries in Korea may not have been aware of that problem in the early stage of their work, or it may not have been a serious issue, or they did not know how to deal with it. But since the rule was adopted, this issue has been a definite rule for the Korean Christians to observe. Nevertheless, the real situation is that the majority of the Korean Christians have practised a modified form of ancestor worship.¹⁷⁴ Further study is needed to determine when the Korean Church adopted the modified form. My hypothesis is that this may have been learned from Ross or the Manchurian Christians.

Ross had rather liberal thoughts on the issue of social customs. He considered changes of social customs by the missionary as "interference" which was "an obstacle and a stumbling-block in the way of respectable and high-minded Chinese, preventing them from coming into the Christian Church".¹⁷⁵ For this reason, he insisted that one of the duties of the missionary was "not to change the customs but to renew the heart", and that social customs should be voluntarily renounced,

¹⁷⁴ It is called "chudo yebae", remembrance worship.

¹⁷⁵ MMM, p.210.

modified, or adopted through the renewal of people's hearts.¹⁷⁶

"If social changes must come", Ross said, "let them come from the instructed Chinese themselves".¹⁷⁷

To put it concretely, Ross argued that there was no sense of idolatry in Chinese ancestor worship, because there was no prayer. For the same reason, he insisted that it should be called "ancestral ritual".¹⁷⁸ At the London Missionary Conference, although he said that he did not admit "any person into the Christian Church except renunciation of this ancestral ritual", Ross was in favour of the foundation of this ritual in China. Because he thought that this was the symbol of the filial spirit or reverence of the ancestor. For this reason, when he found that one of his elders observed this ritual on New Year's Day, he did not prohibit it. For the idolatrous elements in this ritual - burning incense, bowing and the tablet - were eliminated, and it was fully modified into a Christian service with a good deal of hymn singing, Scripture reading, and Christian prayers. Ross did not want to destroy the spirit of reverence. Rather he wanted to eliminate all the non-Christian characters from the practice by the consciousness of the Chinese themselves.

✓ Polygamy was also an important issue in regard to admission into the Church. The missionaries in Korea were absolutely strict in not accepting polygamists into the Church. One may argue that

¹⁷⁶ MMM, p.209.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ MMM, p.224: cf. Report of the London Missionary Conference, vol.2, p.97.

this rule succeeded in rooting out polygamy from Korean society. But, under strong Confucian influence, the concubine and her children were traditionally treated as second class citizens. In this sense, polygamy may not have been an obstacle to the Korean Church. As the majority of polygamists belonged to the middle class, however, it may have been a great obstacle to introducing the gospel to middle class people. There is no doubt that the missionaries in Korea simply applied their pious rule without deep understanding of Korean culture and social customs, and thus may have resulted in the exclusion of the middle class from the beginning of mission.

Ross had a quite different view on polygamy. Ross's attitude towards polygamy was well represented in resolutions of the Manchurian Church adopted by its Presbytery in May 1891.

(a) The fact of a man having more than one wife shall not debar him from admission into the membership of the Christian Church provided he be otherwise admissible; but if any one enter into such relationship after admission to the Church, he be excommunicated.

(b) When men are brought forward for admission to the membership of the Church, inquiries be made as to their position in regard to polygamy.

(c) Any member who has more than one wife is not eligible to any office in the Church, and this rule be made retrospective. ¹⁷⁹

These resolutions look like a summary of Ross's speech on polygamy at the London Missionary Conference.¹⁸⁰ His remark in favour of the admission of polygamist into the Church was later criticized by W. Clark, one of ministers of the UP Church.¹⁸¹ In

¹⁷⁹ MFMC-UPC for 1891, no.8702.

✓¹⁸⁰ Report of the Conference, vol.2, pp.62f.

¹⁸¹ For his criticism, see his address at the Conference (Report of the Conference, vol.2, pp.68-69) and W. Clark, "Polygamy in the mission field", United Presbyterian Magazine for

the response to the criticism, Ross made his position clear by suggesting that polygamists might be introduced into the Church. Along with his understanding of passages in Timothy and Titus which implied only the qualification of a bishop or office bearer, his argument was that because the Chinese were still under the Old Testament dispensations, the New Testament law could not be imposed on them. His historical and cultural understanding of polygamy in China made him tolerate those who had been polygamists before they accepted Christian truth. He was not trying to compromise with the existing social customs in order to find an easy method.

It is very important to note here that Ross did not try to plant a missionary church in Manchuria, but to establish a true indigenous church. Without such a deep understanding of social customs, of culture in a broad sense, there would be no mission method for the indigenous church. The main object, to plant a self-reliant Church, is to have the indigenous Church. At this point, we can see a big difference between Ross's mission method and the Nevius method. In the Nevius method as well as the mission policies of the Korean Church, it is difficult to see anything bearing a true sense of planting the indigenous church. Then where did the origins of the Korean Church --- Bible centred, self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing Church --- come from?

1889, pp.18-19. Ross defended himself through his interpretation of some passages in Timothy (1 Tim. 3:2, 12) and Titus (2:6). Ross, "Polygamy in the mission field", UPM for 1889, pp.66-67.

CONCLUSION

In the introduction, I raised two questions: "when does the Christian mission history begin?" and "what was the origin of the Korean Protestant Church?" In order to answer these questions, I have examined the early development of the Korean Protestant Church, in relation to the first Korean New Testament translated by John Ross.

In chapter one, I have tried to outline the conditions, under which the Word of God was introduced in Korea, in relation to Ross's understanding of Korean history. In a broad cultural aspect, Korea and Japan have shared the sphere of Chinese culture. But Protestant missions in China and Japan were not nearly as successful as in Korea. This fact indicates that Korea was an unique soil into which the seed of Gospel was sown. The background of this ready acceptance of the Gospel has been examined in its historical, socio-cultural, and religious aspects. The conditions under which the Word of God was introduced include: (1) it was a time when the political power of government had dramatically declined, so that Korea could not resist the outside powers; (2) it was introduced when religious disorder had occurred so that the major religions could not exercise their influence upon the people; (3) it was introduced mainly among the common people who did not use Chinese ideographs. Among these general conditions, the socio-cultural aspect is the most important factor for the immediate acceptance of the gospel and for the rapid growth of the Korean Protestant

Church. This can be clearly proved in the difference between Catholicism and Protestantism.

In chapter two, I have traced the life of John Ross who initiated directly the evangelization of Korea through the means of Bible translation. Although this biographical sketch is mainly focused on his Korean work, Ross can be described not only as the founder of the Manchurian mission, but also as a born linguist, a man of patience, an itinerant worker, initiator, instructor, and writer. His principles and methods of Bible translation discussed in chapter three, and his theological thought and mission method described in chapter six suggest that he was a man ahead of his time.

His contact with Koreans, which was begun with his curiosity and a series of incidents he regarded as providential, led to the first Korean baptisms in 1879, and more significantly to the translation of the New Testament into Korean. As these early converts were founders of the early Christian communities in Korea as well as in Manchuria, Ross deserves to be called the first Protestant missionary in Korea.

In chapter three, I have examined the procedure of Ross's principles and methods of Bible translation, and the publication of Scriptures and its distribution. Although the American missionaries abandoned the Ross Version because of some defects in translation, his decision to use only the language of the common people was the most important event in the entire history of the Korean Protestant Church. It means that his aim of

translation was to introduce the Gospel to the majority of Koreans. He used the language of the common people in an inclusive; not an exclusive sense; it was readily accessible to middle class people. If Ross had aimed at the middle class people alone, there would have been no point in translating the Scriptures into Korean. As middle class people preferred Chinese, in fact, it would have been needless to use han'gŭl for his translation. In other word, a Korean translation might be largely in Chinese characters. But his concern was to give Koreans an accessible colloquial and idiomatic translation. His principles provide a good example of translation, even for modern times.

Although Ross took charge of the whole business of translation and publication, he also emphasized the input of Koreans in translation and revision work. Without the assistance of many anonymous Koreans, translation work would not have been possible. In the process of distribution, the Koreans' input was still more important. Except for the work of Japanese agents of the NBSS, all the distribution work was done by Koreans. They were not simple colporteurs but in effect evangelists, well instructed by Ross. They not only smuggled the Scriptures and tracts into Korea, but also voluntarily preached the gospel to their relatives and friends at the risk of their lives. This voluntary movement was a real power of the Korean Protestant Church.

In chapter four, I have analyzed the Ross Version in order to find out the basis of the translation and the intelligibility of the Ross Version. Although this analysis has been carried out

only on the Gospel of Luke, there is no doubt that the basis of translation was the Chinese Delegates' Version, as the first draft was prepared from the Chinese by Korean co-translators. But Ross compared this draft with the Greek texts and the English texts in the process of revision. On the question of the Greek texts, Ross seems to have mainly used the Byzantine text in Luke-82 edition, and the Oxford edition of the Revised Greek text in later editions. Similarly he seems to have heavily relied on the English Authorized Version in Luke-82 edition, and the Revised Version in later editions. For this reason, Ross may have argued that his version was the first New Testament translated from the RV. Another feature of the Ross Version is that Ross seems to have followed the readings of the English text rather than the Greek text.

The Ross Version was criticized by American missionaries as being unintelligible because of its provincialism, Chinese expressions, and ambiguous renderings used in the Ross Version. These were the motives for rejecting the Ross Version. Except for a few P'yŏngan dialectal words and difficult Chinese expressions, I would argue that the Ross Version seems to have had no peculiarities which would prevent its being intelligible to the majority of the Korean people. For the wider use of the Ross Version, orthographical changes into the capital dialect forms may have been all that was needed. The use of pure Korean words was the strongest point of the Ross Version in terms of its intelligibility. Making an idiomatic translation in the language of the common people indicates that the literary style of the Ross Version would be generally easy to understand. The use of

indigenous word hanamin as the term for God was the most important decision for the Korean Church to render the concept of the Biblical God in the traditional Korean context.

In chapter five, I have tried to generalize the characteristics of the early Korean Christian communities as Bible-centred, lay oriented, self-supporting congregations. These characteristics are unique in all the accounts of the formation of the early Christian communities in Korea as well as in Manchuria. Along with the Christian communities in Manchuria, those of Kanggye and Uiju had no direct intervention by missionaries in the process of their formation; they seem to have had only indirect influence from Ross. In the cases of Sorae and Saemunan, American missionaries were involved in establishing congregations. But their intervention was only on the structural formation of the congregation, after basic Christian communities had been formed by Korean themselves. Therefore, we can say that there was no direct intervention by missionaries in the process of the formation of the five cases which I take as examples. This means that Koreans formed these communities by themselves. This autogenous and voluntary movement must have naturally and spontaneously created the characteristics of those communities, being Bible-centred, lay oriented, and self-supported.

In chapter six, I have examined the Nevius mission method and Ross's mission method in order to find out the real origins of the Korean Protestant Church. During the formative period of the Korean Church before 1900, missionaries were not able to

engage in the active work of evangelization, but the Church grew so rapidly that missionaries could not cope with the increase of congregations. The autogenous formation of the early Christian communities raises questions about the place of the Nevius method in the early Korean Church history. It may be true that Nevius exercised his influence over the American missionaries in Korea and on their mission policy. But, if the early Christian communities were autogenously and spontaneously formed when Koreans received the Word of God, it is doubtful that the characteristics of the Korean Church originated from the Nevius method. But the Christian communities which I took as examples were established by those who seem to have been thoroughly instructed by Ross. This fact may suggest that Ross's mission method had more influence than the Nevius method in the formation of the early Christian communities. Both Nevius's and Ross's mission methods are similar in the sense that both advocate the "three-self" principles. But while the Nevius method places much emphasis on financial self-support, Ross rather emphasizes the spiritual self-support leading to the absolute voluntary movement on the part of Koreans. Ross often uses the word "self-reliant", which includes self-support, self-propagation, and self-government. The main object of his mission method is to plant a self-reliant and indigenous church. At this point, we may argue that the characteristics of the early Korean Christian communities had been influenced, indirectly through his converts, by Ross's mission method.

Nevertheless it is difficult to see that the autogenous and voluntary movement of the Korean Church came from a particular

mission method, because that kind of movement cannot be forced. Such a movement demands a total commitment as the early converts risked their own lives for the Gospel. We have seen different rates of church growth in different provinces under a single blanket mission policy. There must have been many reasons for the different development of the different Christian communities. One important factor was the question of the presence of Korean leaders. It is not a coincidence that the Christian communities in north-western provinces (P'yŏngan or Hwanghae) showed a dramatic growth (see the figure in p.389b), and that Ross's men came from those provinces and mainly worked there as colporteurs or evangelists. More importantly, the Ross Version must have been most widely circulated in those regions. Although the Ross Version was intelligible to the people of other provinces, as it contains a number of P'yŏngan dialectical features, it was easily accepted by the people of those region. The possession of the Word of God may have been the most important reason for the rapid development of the Christian communities in those regions. Here we can see the important relationship between human language and the Word of God. Prof. Andrew F. Walls says on this matter.

But language is specific to a people or an area. No-one speaks generalized "language"; it is necessary to speak a particular language. Similarly, when Divinity was translated into Humanity he did not become generalized humanity. He become a person in a particular locality and in a particular ethnic group, at a particular place and time. The translation of God into humanity, whereby the sense and meaning of God was transferred, was effected under very culture-specific conditions.¹

¹ Walls, Andrew F., "The Translation Principle in Christian History", ed. by Philip C. Stine, *Bible Translation and the Spread of the Church: the last 200 years*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1990, pp.24-39 (p.25).

From this statement, it is clear that, without the Word of God in their particular form of language, people of those provinces were able to respond immediately to the nature of Christian gospel. In other words, their immediate response was conversion. It would be most natural that, only when people have the Word of God translated in their language, immediate conversion can follow. We see the same parallel in the history of Protestantism.² Protestantism and Bible translation are closely interrelated. From this perspective, Prof. Walls defines the entire history of Christian mission as the history of translation of the Word of God. The expression, "Divinity was translated into Humanity", means that "Incarnation is translation".³ To continue to follow his words,

Thus in the Incarnation, the Word becomes flesh, but not simply flesh; ... he (Christ) was fully translated, taken into the functional system of the language, into the fullest reaches of personality, experience and social relationship. The proper human response to the divine act of translation is conversion: the opening up of the functioning system of personality, intellect, emotions, relationship to the new meaning, to the expression of Christ. Following on the original act of translation in Jesus of Nazareth are countless retranlations into the thought forms and cultures of the different societies into which Christ is brought as conversion takes place.⁴

From this fundamental statement, which missiologists often forget or ignore, we may find the origins of the Korean Protestant Church as well as the place of the Bible in the history of Christian mission. In the sense that the Word of God

² A.F. Walls states that Protestantism, begun with the vernacular principle, "is essentially Northern vernacular Christianity". (op.cit., p.38)

³ Walls, op.cit., p.25.

⁴ ibid., p.26.

was translated before any missionary work was begun, the history of the Korean mission may be an unusual example. Since Bible translation in most cases has been done by missionaries, it is often regarded as simply one of means of mission such as educational and medical work. This is an illusion. Although the Bible is carried and distributed by missionaries, the Bible is not a means of mission; a missionary is only an instrument of the Word of God. Conversion takes place only through the Word of God, not because of the missionary presence; the missionary can only help others to conversion. In this new but fundamental perspective of the history of Christian mission, we may conclude that the origin of the Korean Protestant Church was the Ross Version.

<APPENDIX I>

SELECTED LETTERS OF JOHN ROSS IN RELATION TO TRANSLATION TO DR.
WM WRIGHT, SECRETARY OF THE BFBS

(1) March 24, 1882 (BFBS, ECI, vol.16, pp. 330-334)

By this post I send you a copy of the completed Gospel of Luke. John is now in progress and I expect ere you see this to have Matthew's Gospel in the "Press". Already I have detected faulty idiom in Luke borrowed from the Chinese, which I have avoided in John; this does not affect the faithfulness of the translation. Luke is the conjoint production of my colleague, Mr Macintyre and myself. He goes home taking his work with him while I have begun the rest of the New Testament de novo. This I find best in every way for reasons too many to explain here. The basis of my translation is the revised Greek version which was kindly sent me by Professor Legge of Oxford. I follow it *simpliciter* though I confess I had previously greater learnings to the readings of the Sinaitic Codex than are manifested in the Revised Edition. So much learning and wisdom and piety have been brought to bear upon the revised translation that I would not hesitate for a moment to follow against my previous predilections.

I write you now because all my future work has been long transferred to you, and because I would much like that you should at your earliest convenience send me whatever sum of money you think it proper to advance to begin with.

After most careful scrutiny and repeated revisions of the Korean already translated I can now guarantee the exact faithfulness of the rendering in future; and the, as far as I am able to judge, perfectly idiomatic translation. That there will be in future years changes of words differing in shades of meaning or in beauty of expression is a matter of course. I shall soon hear what is thought in Korea of Luke's Gospel.

For reasons which I explained long ago I withdrew my application for aid from the Scottish National B.S. Yet after that formal withdrawal the Secretary wrote you saying that the Korean translation or version was not withdrawn. You know the result. I got type and £250 for previous expenditure in translation, to print the Gospels of Luke and John from the Scottish Society which was then hard up for funds. A printing machine I got privately from one gentleman and the offer of cost of printing 3,000 copies each of Luke and John from another. I have reminded the latter gentleman of his offer more frequently than once and am now doing the same again. With Societies in existence of gentlemen convened together to distribute funds collected for the very purpose of translating, printing and circulating the Bible, I believed and believe that I should have been freed both from the monetary responsibilities of this work and from the unpleasant task of having to solicit private individuals to aid me in it. Because I knew you were prepared to give me this freedom and the Northern Society was not, I applied long ago to you. This I stated to the Scottish Society when acknowledging receipt of their utmost assistance in the printing

and circulating of Luke and John, saying at the same time in the plainest conceivable English that in future I would not trouble the Society for any work I might have to do. Yet I see in one of the Quarterly Reports of the Scottish Society that they expect to be asked to assist in the rest of the Korean New Test. I am not quite a child to say one thing today and a different thing tomorrow; and this reference is the only one I shall ever make to that Report.

I have had half a dozen men, four Koreans and two Chinese printers constantly at work for half a year and as yet have had no money save my own salary with which to pay them and the other expenses connected with printing. I still expect that Mr Arthington of Leeds, though I have never seen the gentleman, will implement his repeated promise to provide the expense incurred for two gospels. But I could have wished that he had saved me the annoyance of having to work meantime on my own salary and when it fails on borrowed money. From such annoyance I hope to escape in future by your generous help; it is partly on this account that I now ask you to kindly send some money in advance, for the six men must be regularly paid, and paper etc cannot be had without ready money.

I employ two Korean literary men as translators and two as type setters. One of the translators works by himself, translating from the Wunli or literary style of the Chinese New Test. This he does very fairly, for he was a writer in a government office in his native country before opium smoking consumed his patrimony and drove him out of the office. The Chinese best translation has yet to be very thoroughly recast in the matter of idiom and a translation from it into Korean is therefore not by any means perfect. Yet it forms a capital rough draft, so to speak, for my own work. With this translation in my one hand and my Greek Revised N.T. in the other, I go over every word most carefully with the second translator, who is a convert, thoroughly acquainted with Christian truth and whose naturally fair abilities have been considerably sharpened by half a dozen years' practice in translation. This corrected Edition is sent back to the original translator to rewrite a clean copy, the necessity for which you can readily infer from the fact that there is an average of at least one important correction to each verse. This clean copy I go over again with the same second translator with even more care than the first. I then take my Greek concordance and refer to each word capable of more than one shade of thought in translation and see that each word when meaning a certain thing is always represented by a single Korean word exactly conveying that meaning. It is here that my Korean assistant is especially valuable. After this process is exhausted a third careful comparison is made with the Greek version and I put the results into the hands of the type setter. All details would occupy too much time to recite them now. To me the work is intensely interesting and all the more so when I see an idiomatic and beautiful version gradually raising its fair proportions under my eye. This is I imagine the only translation except the English which gives the results of the most recent discoveries in, and the ablest researches into the codices of the New Test.

(2) October 9, 1882; BFBS-ECI, vol.17, pp.176-179

Mr Slowan of Glasgow wrote me the other day with a copy of the minute of 24th July, which however was intended for you rather than for my eyes. I reply in order to give you the clue to the whole question. Though I sought assistance I see no reason why I should have been treated as an unfortunate beggar, much less do I see any reason for his expressing a desire to assist me, in future, in his reports, without dropping a note of some kind to me. I understand now how it is that my various letters to you have remained so long unacknowledged, so that, in desperation, I was on the point of discharging the men employed, whom I could not replace again if I would. Other causes have unfortunately combined to exhaust all my small means and throw me into temporary difficulties, for I have had to purchase and pay ready money for a mission house, money for which is not yet forwarded from home.

A thousand copies each of Luke and John were forwarded to Yokohama to agent of Scottish Bible Society. I know not how or when they are to be introduced into Korea. I have sent many hundreds by Koreans, converts or friends who were delighted to take them. I did not pay those men for carrying them, but permitted them to sell or give them away to friends as they pleased. Three days ago I sent away by a colporteur 500 gospels and as many tracts, the latter being provided by the Religious Book and Tract Society, whose grant of £20 is all the assistance I have had for a year's printing and translating!

I think I mentioned to you that the printed Luke is a revision of the translation of Mr Macintyre. To satisfy him it was printed wholly in the dialect of Western Corea. John was printed, 2,000 copies in Western dialect and 1,000 in that of the capital. I have always believed that it were better to have all translation done in the language of the capital, which is understood everywhere and to which the stigma of vulgarity or provincialism cannot be attached. I have now all the four gospels in this language and the rest of the N.T. which is being translated will be in the same. These translations have been passed through four Korean translations each by a more or less scholarly man and a christian. The only fault which I have heard laid against the version is that the names are strange. You are aware that the Chinese transliteration of western names is not very satisfactory, e.g. Jesus Christ, Yesoo Jidoo or Yesoo Jilisudoo; Jerusalem, Yeloosalung, Gapernaum, Jiabainoong; Abraham, Yabailaham & etc. Now Korean admits of a very near approximation as Ab-ra-ham, Yeroosalem, Kapernam etc. But these combinations of letters are not common and look strange. Yet I have no hesitation in adopting those letters which give the nearest approximation to Greek, indeed I can see no reasonable objection to this course. Several names translated in the Chinese version I have retained in Corean e.g. Sabat for Sabbath instead of Rest Day as in Chinese, Baptism Rite instead Wash Rite, as baptism is translated in Chinese. Passover I have translated literally, though even still I am doubtful whether it might not be as well to retain Pascha. These and the names of chief countries and men I briefly explained on one page which is adhibited to each Gospel.

The colporteur mentioned above is the first Korean convert, who translated Luke with me several years ago and ended the translation by a request for baptism. I was afraid of him for a time, but he is long re-established in good conduct. Though your interim representative in Shanghai, my good friend Mr Muirhead, this man goes for three months in connexion with your Society. He can travel all over the country, but is to begin his sales in Yichow, a city beautifully situated on the crest of a hill on the east bank of the Yaloo. There is already an Evangelist there and quite an eager desire for the Scriptures from curiosity mainly, as they are long aware that this translation is going on. From these books I do not expect to realize more than carriage and travelling expenses.

I hope you are now free to render me the assistance I so much require. I am waiting your assistance for a smaller type.

(3) January 24, 1883; BFBS-ECI, vol.17, pp.329-333

I am not sure whether I informed you of the principles of translation which I follow in my Korean work. These are, first, An absolutely literal translation compatible with the meaning of the passage and the idiom of the Korean language and second, the Greek of the Revised Version is made the standard rather than the English. My main object being an accurate and faithful representation of the sense, in the best attainable idiom, where that sense is rendered by periphrasis in Chinese I have followed the literal language of the Greek. Literal translation would however in a few instances make nonsense, as the phrase "uncircumcised in heart" and the phrase "unloose the shoes" would be meaningless to a people who have no thongs or latches to untie before they "take off" their shoes. In certain cases where the English literally translates the Greek such literal translation is impossible in Korean as "they laid many stripes upon them"(Acts. 16:23) which in Korean is "they beat them much". Neither sense nor grammar would admit of the English translation of ἐλάλησαν in Acts 16:32. "We bring unto you good tidings" which in Korean is "we preach unto you". In other instances Korean idiom admits of or demands a translation nearer the original than the English as in Acts 15:6, where ἰδεῖν περὶ is translated in English "to consider of", in Korean "to look about"; ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι of Acts 19:32 is in English "some one thing and some another", in Korean "the people not at one; the "hither" of v.37 is best omitted from Korean; and the παρακαλεσας λογω πολλω of Acts 20:2 is in Korean "by much speech exhorted".

The particles και, δε and μὲν when merely connective are not translated, connexion of clauses and sentences being effected in Korean by the remarkable final particles whose use is explained in "Korean speech".

The Greek terms "Baptism" and "Sabbath" have been retained. Over "Pascha" and "Passover" I hesitated long, but have adopted the translation. All names are transliterated from the Greek, the Korean alphabet admitting generally of a correct transliteration. I have left out all words, clauses or sentences omitted in the

Revised Version and adopted its readings. The Revisers however seem to have shrunk from omitting the story of the woman taken in adultery (8th of John) and the Conclusion of Mark's Gospel. I have left out both. That the conclusion of Mark's Gospel is an extension of and addition to the preceding verses, few students can doubt, and though the story of the woman is not without evidence as to its genuineness there is I think little doubt as to its lack of authenticity. It pierces through its context like a trap dyke through a granite hill, having no homogeneity with its bed. As the Korean is an entirely new Version I had not the same reasons to shrink from keeping out these passages as the Revisers had from putting them out. Mark is not yet printed, nor will it probably be finished before I can hear from you and it will be sometime ere a second Edition of John is thrown off. I am at present finishing the Acts and using the Greek concordance on all the Gospels.

Method of procedure -- As Chinese classics are the only books taught in Korean Schools, the scholars are as familiar with the Chinese classics as are the Chinese themselves. The Korean scholar is therefore an adept at translating from or into Chinese classical style. Into the hands of such a scholar I put a gospel in classic Chinese with a copy of the colloquial. This he carefully translates into Korean, forming for me an excellent rough draft. This along with another Korean scholar long in our employment and conversant with Christian truth, I compare word by word and clause by clause with the Revised Greek and English New Test. The changes required to be made are very extensive, partly from the difference between the Revised and former Versions, partly from misunderstanding the Chinese text, but mainly because of the idiom used in the Chinese Version. There is rarely a line without a change as you will see from a first-hand revised copy which I shall send you. Words have to be ejected, clauses inverted, phraseology changed, oft times the sense even of the passage is considerably affected, and punctuation, on which depends the style, idiom and much of the meaning, is more often wrong than right. The concentrated essence of apostolic speeches recorded with much frequency in the Acts is specially difficult to translate because of the long and involved character of the sentences. A few verses sometimes occupy a day, sometimes I can revise almost a whole chapter.

After this translation is thus thoroughly revised it is handed back to the Korean to have a clean copy written out. This revised copy is then tested by the Greek Concordance and the same Greek word is where possible always represented by the Korean word approximating nearest in meaning. This second revision is of great service, for synonyms and words differing only by slight shades of meaning are remarkably common in Korean.

The result of this thorough revision have long convinced me not only that the Chinese version stands in need of amendment, but that the best accessible mode of improving it, is by a re-translation from the corrected Korean into Chinese by a competent Korean scholar. Such a scholar has turned up just as I was anxious to test the matter. I gave him several passages in Korean to translate into Chinese and am convinced that great

improvements can be made in securing a more idiomatic classical Chinese version, reading more smoothly than the present, and presenting the exact meaning of Scripture without the circumlocution often resorted to. I send herewith the Sermon on the Mount to Mr Dyer in Shanghai, who if he sees fit can forward it to you. It is the exact Chinese translation of the Corean, the translator having no Chinese books beside him. If you desire it proper to put this matter to the proof will you kindly allow from £15 to £20 for a half years work, or more if needful. I cannot meantime finally engage the man. You will not infer from this that I slight the present Chinese Version. It is the result of laborious research and learning, is remarkably faithful in its rendering of Scripture truth, but is not faultless from the standpoint of idiom.

(4) November 10, 1883 BFBS-ECI, vol. 18, pp. 226-228

I am aware of the rule of your ably conducted Society forbidding commentaries of any kind in the Bibles printed by or for you. There is one feature of the gospels which I have printed lately which may appear inconsistent with this rule, but one to which I felt myself driven in order to render the Gospel intelligible to people who know nothing of it. As I mentioned on a former occasion our names are very uncouth to a Corean. There is nothing in the syllables or words composing the name to indicate the fact that it is a proper noun. Hence confusion may, and sometimes does arise in attempting to understand proper names as common nouns or other parts of speech. I therefore took the liberty without consulting you of adding a fly leaf to each Gospel of John, and preparing the same for Matthew and Mark containing the principal names, explaining them in words, the exact and full translation of which I gave below so that you may know and be able to give your verdict on this addendum: --

*** Page explaining Names ***

Baptism Rite is the mode of introducing by the use of water into the Church (or religion) of Jesus.

Cutting Rite, the mode of introducing, prior to the time of Jesus, into the Jewish Church; it was instituted by the ancestor Abraham.

Sabat Day, one day in every seven set apart for rest.

Pass-over Feast, The day instituted to keep in remembrance the departure of the People of Israel from Egypt.

Tabernacle Feast, the Jewish harvest-moon feast.

Yoodai, the name of the kingdom in the South of Israel, subjected to Rome.

Yeroosarem, the capital of Yoodai.

Holy Temple, the place in Jerusalem where God was worshipped and sacrificed to.

Samaria, a province subject to Rome, to the North of Judea.

Ganinai, also a province subject to Rome, to the North of

Samaria.
 Roma, the name of a city which anciently was supreme over all western kingdoms.
 Yesoo, means the "Saviour".
 Kirisuto means the "Anointed".
 Barisai, a sect of the religion of Moses who believed in the existence of spirits and the resurrection of the dead.
 Saddoogai, also a sect of the religion of Moses who did not believe in Angels, spirits of men, or the resurrection of the dead.
 Sacrificer(=priest) one whose office it was to sacrifice to God.
 Pidur means a "stone".
 Rabbi means a "teacher".
 Satan means a "enemy".
 Biulsibool, a god of the heathen; the name means "lord of flies".

From the names which are transliterated from the Corean you can perceive the exact capacity of the alphabet of that language. The name of Christ shows that at times the Coreans must insert vowels where we do not, though these cases are rare compared to Chinese. You will also observe that there is no letter f in the language, b or p being invariably used instead; i is always pronounced as in the word it.

(5) Marrch 8, 1885; BFBS-ECI, vol. 18, pp.142-145

From Mr Bryant you will doubtless have heard the most interesting portion of last year's report -- the results of reading the Gospels and tracts printed here. Besides those already baptized there are over 600 men applicants for baptism in the Corean valleys, of whom you shall hear more after my visit to them which is set down for May. The Corean Hŭ or Sui, as his native language writes his names, who half a year after his baptism left this city for the capital of his native land, there to act as your colporteur, was here lately to report in person and to invite me thither by word of mouth as he had often done by letter. As the result of his two years' labours there he has now over 70 men applicants for baptism, some of them remarkable men. One of his converts came with him for baptism and it appears that he has opened what he calls a "Preaching Hall" in a city to the West of the capital where he has 18 believers, and another convert in a city to the South of the capital has "over 20" who are applying for baptism.

From our Society I have requested permission to go in Autumn to the Corean capital to examine and baptize. If leave is granted I shall take care to have as much criticism as can be procured brought to bear upon the translation. From hearing some of the scholarly converts talk I shall be able at least to approximately ascertain the proper pronunciation. In the later Editions of the Gospels the spelling of the capital has been largely adopted, though it must be confessed that even in the capital there are many modes of spelling.

The type hitherto used is unnecessarily large, involving of

course extra expenditure in the size of the volume. A smaller type I had cut in Shanghai, but it is not satisfactory, nor will it be unless I am on the spot to see it done. It is however inexpensive as it is cut in letters like English type, not in syllables like that now in my possession. By mistake a small packet of a smaller type was sent me from Japan which shows that they have there the matrices already prepared, but unfortunately in syllables, not letters. Hence if this type is purchased a great quantity must be ordered.

Were it not that I sent my translator who is well grounded in Christian truth to the Korean valleys for some months in the winter to establish the believers there in their faith, the whole of the New Test would have been ready for the press by this time. It will, if our Master spare me in health, be ready long before the printers could print what is already fit for printing. Could you see your way to allow me to print 5,000 or 10,000 copies of the whole New Test ; a new press with the above mentioned smaller type would be purchased, while the old type and press would provide Gospels and tracts for present use. I need hardly say that not a single word is inserted in the translation without full knowledge of the impression it will make upon the mind of the Korean reading it.

The remarkable result already produced not in the Korean valleys only, but in central and southern Korea, by means of the Gospels and tracts disseminated, prove conclusively the truth of what my Korean translators always affirmed that the translation would be understood by all, including women and children. In central Korea, whence invitations have come for my presence there to receive them into the Church, the majority of purchasers were women, who it appears read with the avidity of people "hungering and thirsting" after truth. While therefore the few learned men prefer the Chinese literary style, the immense majority of the men and all the women are dependent for Biblical instruction on this translation. I have read a great deal of a translation being made in Japan. Specimens have been sent me of the Gospels and Acts. It is not a translation, but the Chinese literary Version given with diacritical marks. Though these marks are not always correctly used, I don't see that they can do much harm as they are placed beside the text. At the same time this "Version" leaves matters exactly where they were. To a good Chinese scholar they are of little or no value, as he could make them for himself, while to a poor scholar, or to the nine tenths of the population who know not Chinese, nothing can be of any service which is not written in their own language. My translators have had as much scholarship and a great deal more knowledge and experience, yet I would not dare publish anything done by the best of them, if I did not carefully and critically correct it. This man in Japan, who it appears would lose his head if he returned at present to his native land, has had no one to assist him by such criticism. You will thus see that Korea is and will for years be dependent upon your work here.

With the new type the cost of producing 5,000 copies or upwards of the New Test in Korean would be one third less than the cost of production hitherto, while the type is quite sufficiently large for all ordinary purposes. It could not, I fear, be printed within a year from its commencement. Will you

therefore, if you give me permission to print, let me know at your earliest convenience that I may order the type from Japan so that it may be here before the frosts of November close our river.

<APPENDIX II>

PRESBYTERIAN NORTHERN MISSION RULES AND BY-LAWS OF 1891

A sub-station consists of a number of Christians who meet together on the Sabbath in a chapel or private room for the worship of God.

Section A

I. It shall be the policy of the Mission to unite, as far as possible, sub-stations which are in close proximity to each other.

II. Each sub-station shall have, if possible, a leader of leaders, either selected by the people or appointed by the missionary in charge, whose duty it shall be to take charge of the Sabbath services in the absence of the helper or other person appointed for the purpose. Except in special cases, the leader shall receive no salary from the Mission, and then only by vote of all the Mission.

III. All sub-stations shall be brought under the review of the Mission once each year, and shall be assigned to the several members of the Mission.

IV. It shall be the duty of each missionary in charge of sub-stations,---

1. To visit the sub-stations as often as possible.
2. To assign native labourers under his charge to circuits and to give them instructions concerning the work.
3. To work out a course of Scripture instruction for each sub-station in accordance with the general plan approved by the Mission.
4. To appoint or produce the election of a leader or leaders and to instruct them in their duties.
5. To invite the leader, or leaders, and one or two others, as in their judgment may seem fit, to attend the theological class nearest to their home, to urge their attendance and report to the missionary in charge of the class the names of those who will probably come.
6. To administer discipline, and to pass on candidates for admission into the Church, to report the same to the Church or missionary court having jurisdiction over the territory in which the sub-station is, who shall take the necessary steps towards the admission of the candidates, if, in their judgment, it is timely and wise. (As in other Missions and Mission Stations, this power may be delegated to the missionary about to visit any sub-station where distance or circumstances render it impossible for the Church or Missionary Court, as such, to act upon the individual cases.)

V. Each missionary shall make an annual report to the

Mission concerning each of the sub-stations under his charge, giving the number of applicants for baptism, the number suspended or excluded, together with a full account of its condition.

VI. It shall be the aim of the Mission, where practicable, to provide a full church organization at each sub-station, and, even before this is accomplished, to supply the preaching of the Gospel by a competent person at stated intervals.

VII. On Sundays, when there is no regular preaching at a sub-station, the local Leader or Elder shall conduct, or invite some competent person to conduct, an orderly service of worship, consisting of the reading of the Scripture and prayer, giving attention to teaching the people the Scripture lessons previously assigned by the missionary in charge.

VIII. The missionary in charge shall do his utmost to lead each sub-station to make an annual contribution either for the support of the native agent labouring among them, or for persons chosen by themselves to labour in new fields, and to make contributions to the poor and to special objects.

IX. The instruction of the practice of having those from a distance fed, after service on Sunday, and defraying the expense from the regular contributions of the church shall be strongly discouraged.

X. Except in special cases, all applicants for baptism shall be put under a course of instruction for six months or more.

XI. The regular establishment of new sub-stations shall be encouraged only where there is time for careful oversight of the same, except where special indications of Providence and openings for new work call for their establishment.

XII. It shall be our policy to establish strong, well-manned sub-stations in important central positions rather than a large number of weak ones.

Section B --- Native Agents

I. Native agents shall be "Leaders", Elders, Deacons, "Helpers", Bible Women, Licentiates, Evangelists and Pastors. Elders and Deacons shall receive no pay.

II. A "Leader" shall be a native Christian selected by the people of a sub-station, or appointed by the missionary in charge, whose duty it shall be to take charge of the regular services in the absence of the person or persons appointed for that purpose and to have general oversight of the sub-station.

III. Elders and Deacons are officers, as laid down in the Scripture and defined in the Presbyterian Form of Government. They shall be ordained only after unanimous election by the church, and approved by the Station and subsequent trial and

instruction for six months.

IV. Colporteurs are book and tract distributors or salesmen. They shall receive appointment only by vote of the Station, and shall be those who have given satisfactory evidence of Christian character, knowledge of the books to be distributed, and zeal for the work.

V. A "Helper" is a Christian especially attached to a missionary as his or her special assistant in the work.

VI. A "Bible Woman" is a Christian woman employed in the distribution of Christian literature and in Bible instruction. Such women shall receive appointment only by vote of the Station.

VII. A "Licentiate" is one who is given authority by the Mission or Presbytery to preach for a specified time.

VIII. An "Evangelist" is one appointed by a Station to proclaim the Gospel within specified territorial limits.

IX. A Pastor is as defined in the Form of Government.

X. All of the native agents of the Mission with the work that they are doing shall, as far as practicable, be brought by name before the Mission at its Annual Meeting, and assigned for oversight to the various members of the Mission.

XI. No member of the Mission shall employ any native agent, for the Mission or Station, without asking its approval, except temporarily in special cases.

XII. Those native agents employed as preachers to the heathen at large shall not spend their time in the neighbourhoods where there are sub-stations.

XIII. No one shall be hired to do occasional evangelistic work in his own neighbourhood.

XIV. It shall be definitely understood that the salaries of native agents are not salaries in the sense of payments for the work done, but rather a providing them with means of support so that they may be able to give their full time to the work to which they believe they have been called.

XVI. These salaries of native agents, while varying somewhat, of course, according to the location and work, shall as nearly as possible conform to a schedule prepared by the Mission at its Annual Meeting.

Section C --- Education

I. All of the schools of the Mission shall be under an Educational Committee, which shall act as an advisory Board, with whom the various Superintendents of individual schools shall

consult, and whose duty it shall be to see that the general policy of the Mission with reference to school work is upheld; who shall attend, or, if that not be possible, shall appoint a Committee to attend the annual examinations of the schools, and who shall report to the Annual Meeting of the Mission immediately after the reports of the Superintendents of the various schools have been heard.

II. Each school shall be given into the charge of a Superintendent or Board of Superintendents, who shall have the entire charge of the school - of course following the general policy laid down by the Mission; shall advise with the Educational Committee on all new departures, and report annually to the Mission, giving the total expense, total number of pupils lost or dismissed, the number of teachers and the wages paid them, a list of the classes taught by the foreign Superintendent, the number of Christian pupils, and the general moral tone of the school.

III. In every school, two primary ideas are to be kept in view, ---

1. That the fundamental idea of a school is to educate in the various branches of useful knowledge, and thus fit the pupils for the various duties and responsibilities of active life.
2. That the religious and spiritual influence brought to bear on the pupils is the most important thing in the school. Both of these ideas may and should be realized in a good school.

IV. Those who have charge of the school should give a fair amount of time to teaching and other personal intercourse with the pupils, so as to gain an influence over them, and to impress their minds and characters. Unexpected visits and stated examinations may serve to the Korean teachers up to their work, but they are comparatively ineffectual in moral influence and in power to affect the character of the pupils.

V. The board, lodging, etc., shall be perfectly plain, and a special effort shall be made to avoid fostering any ideas and the forming of any habits which shall unfit the pupils for living as their own people live in the same station of life.

VI. All of the teachers shall, if possible, be Christians, and shall be mentioned by name in the foreign Superintendent's annual report of the school, with the salary paid, and the number of hours a week spent in teaching.

VII. When pupils are admitted to the school, steps should be taken, by written indenture or otherwise, to secure attendance until the object in view is accomplished.

VIII. As pupils, the children of Christian parents are preferred to heathen children, because they are more likely to fulfil their engagements to stay in the school, and more likely to make good and reliable men and women in the end.

IX. Save in exceptional cases, children whose parents are beggars, or such as send their children to school solely to escape their maintenance, shall not be received as pupils.

X. Dull and stupid boys and girls shall not knowingly be received into the school, nor retained there as a matter of charity to them or their parents.

XI. As a rule, boys should not be recognized as boarders under ten years of age (foreign count), nor girls under eight, except with the approval of the local members of the Educational Committee.

XII. No more should be done in the way of board, clothing, etc., than is absolutely necessary to secure the end desired by the school. If possible, clothing, bedding and native books shall be furnished by the parents or guardians, who are able to do so, and they shall be required to pay something also for the privilege of the school.

XIII. An examination shall conclude each school year, which shall be attended, if possible, by the Educational Committee of the Mission and a report of the examination shall be rendered to the Mission at its Annual Meeting.

XIV. The course of study for all schools shall be, in the main, uniform, taking for its guide a course to be prepared hereafter. All of these schools shall aim to prepare the pupils for entrance into an educational institution (academy) which shall be located in Seoul.

Section D --- Theological Instruction

I. The Mission shall provide theological instruction (i.e., Bible Classes) to be given to its various native agents in the summer and winter Classes, and also, when the time arrives, in a theological school.

II. These Classes shall be arranged for at the time of the Annual Meeting of the Mission, and shall be placed under the care of definite members of the Mission.

III. The object of the Classes shall be to fit the various agents for their work, and especially to prepare natives to become self-supporting teachers of others without removing them from their various callings.

IV. The various members of the Mission having charge of sub-station shall invite the "Leaders", "Helpers", native paid agents and others whom they see fit, to attend these Classes nearest to their respective sub-stations, and shall report to the leader of the Class those who will attend.

V. Except in special circumstances, only those who are

invited by a member of the Mission shall be allowed to attend the Classes.

VI. The work required of members of the Class shall be such that all idlers and others with any personal motives in view shall find it more agreeable to leave.

VII. It shall be the rule of the Mission simply to provide for the entertainment of the members of the Class while in attendance upon their duties, and, only in exceptional cases, shall any portion of the expenses of returning home be paid by the Missions.

Section E --- Literature

I. All matters concerning the publishing of books, tracts, etc., for the Mission shall be in the hand of the Editorial Committee.

II. All books and manuscripts for publication shall be examined by the Committee and report shall be made to the Mission before publishing.

III. Any member appointed by the Mission to do special literary work shall report to the Editorial Committee and advise with that Committee as to work to be prepared.

IV. It shall be the policy of the Mission to sell books rather than to engage in indiscriminate gratuitous distribution. The price shall be about one-third above the cost of the paper.

V. All hymn-books also shall be sold.

Section F --- Organization

I. The Mission shall hold an Annual Meeting, at which time every form of work shall be fully reported and passed upon.

II. There shall be Committees for taking special charge of the various forms of work, --- Property, Evangelistic, Medical, Educational and Editorial. These Committees shall make recommendations to the Mission for action.

III. Ad interim between Annual Meetings, any matter may be brought up to the Mission by circular vote.

IV. Every member of the Mission shall make a personal report each year, giving the work done and a sketch of plans for the future.

V. Each Station shall hold a monthly meeting.

Section G --- Examinations of New Missionaries

The Examination Committee shall not only examine, but act as an advisory committee along the line of the studies of the new missionaries, and shall arrange for quarterly examinations during the first two years. The Committee shall notify new missionaries upon their arrival of the course of study and the person to whose oversight they have been assigned. No missionary shall be considered to have passed his final examinations (except in the case of married ladies) until he or she has passed at least two of the annual examinations before a majority of the Committee. (Note: This was later changed to "three" examinations required.)

Additional By-Law of 1896: Addition to Section B

III. A Steward shall be a native Christian selected by the people of a sub-station or appointed by the missionary in charge to temporarily perform the duties of Deacon, but without ordination.

XII. No member of the Mission shall employ or pay any native agent without the approval of the Mission except it be temporarily in special cases, and each person must be approved by the Station. This rule applies to all native agents from whatsoever source the funds may be derived, except where the Korean Church undertakes the support of such agents.

Section C --- Additions

VII. In places where there is a sufficient Christian constituency, schools should be organized and supported by the native church, and should be under the supervision of the missionary in charge of the district. In exceptional cases, assistance may be given by the Mission, but not to exceed one-half of the expense.

VIII. Girls' schools and primary schools carried on at the expense of the Mission for evangelistic purposes in districts where there is not yet a sufficiently strong Christian community may be organized, but only with direct Mission permission, or, in the interim of Mission meetings, by the sanction of the Educational Committee.

Additions in the 1901 By-Law

Sec.D VI. All teachers shall be Christians.

Sec.E VI. It shall be the policy of the Mission to encourage the Korean Christians to defray the expenses of the Bible Classes as far as possible.

<APPENDIX III>

Rules for the native church in Korea

I. First, since the Most High God hates the glorifying and worshiping of spirits, follow not the custom, even the honoring of ancestral spirits, but worship and obey God alone.

II. The Lord's Day being a day of rest and a God-appointed holy day, let neither man or beast do any work therein, even to the pursuance of one's livelihood; unless it be absolutely necessary work, let nothing be done. Labor diligently six days, and as for this day, observe it strictly.

III. Since the filial reverencing of parents is something which God has commanded, during the life of your parents piously reverence them, and using all strength be faithful to them as by the command of the Lord.

IV. Since God has appointed one woman for one man, let there be not only no abandoning of each other, but let there be a wife and no concubines, a husband and no lewdness.

V. Since the doing of the holy doctrine is the first thing to be done, let every person persuade those of his own house, prasing and praying, and with one mind trusting and obeying the Lord.

VI. Since God has ordered that we shall live by working, let no one eat and be clothed in idleness. Be not lazy; tell no lies; be not covetous; steal not; but by all means follow an upright livelihood, and using strength, feed yourselves and your families.

VII. The Holy Scriptures not only forbid drunkenness and gambling, but since from these things spring quarreling and fighting and killing and wounding, do not dare to commit them. Also do not make, eat, or sell either wines or opium, and keep not a gambling house, and thus debauch the conduct of men.

(Quoted from "Christian Missions in Korea", condensed from the Secretarial report of Robert E. Speer, November, 1897: MRW, September, 1898, p.682)

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